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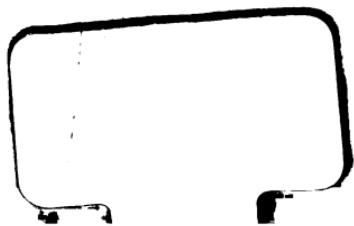
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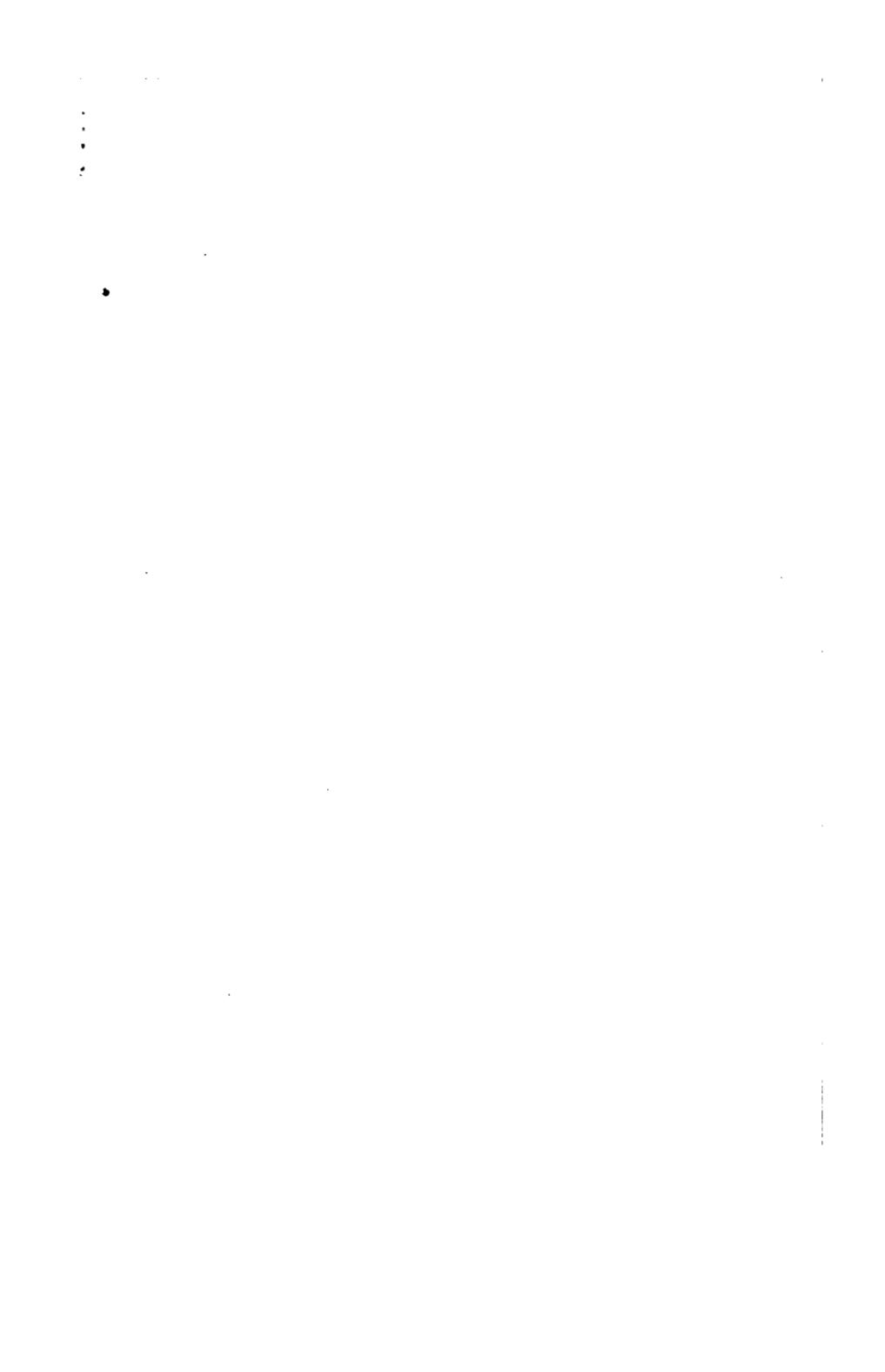
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Grammar School Classics.

CAESAR'S COMMENTARIES,

BOOKS I. TO III.

FOR THE USE OF JUNIOR CLASSES.

WITH ENGLISH NOTES BY

GEORGE LONG,

AND FOUR PLANS.



WHITTAKER AND CO. AVE MARIA LANE;
GEORGE BELL, FLEET STREET.

1857.

294 . g . 94.



LONDON:
GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, PRINTERS,
ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.

PREFACE.

IN making this edition of the first three books of the Gallic War, I have attempted to do something that will be useful to boys, and to some teachers also. If a man would explain every thing which wants explanation, his notes would become too bulky; and he must therefore try to select such things for explanation as present difficulties to all learners, even to those who are most diligent and have good abilities. I assume that every boy who reads Caesar is well acquainted with the forms in the Grammar and the common rules of syntax; for if he is not, he cannot read either Caesar or any other Latin author.

There are some reasons for making Caesar a book for beginners. The whole work is short; and the division into books, each book containing a year's campaign, is convenient for a learner. Each book is complete. The narrative also is clear and simple, and often contains no difficulty in the language, though there often are difficulties in the matter. But there are also many long sentences, which are very difficult to beginners, and indeed are not always easy to a scholar; and there are some passages where the right interpretation is doubtful, and still more, where, though the meaning is clear, it is

exceedingly difficult to render it in English. Caesar then, though he may be read by boys, if they are well taught, is also a book which contains matter enough to employ the best scholar. It is a military history by a soldier, written with great brevity and precision; by a man who used no idle words, and never went out of his way to write any thing that did not directly belong to his subject. All the best judges of the military art, and all the best critics agree that there is no military history so clear and no style so simple and forcible as Caesar's. The Romans themselves considered it a model of a pure style. It is therefore, when properly read, a good book for all who wish to learn Latin, to write with clearness, to tell a story well, and to learn the principles of war.

I have endeavoured to diminish the difficulties in various ways; sometimes by explaining a word or a technical term; sometimes by translating a sentence, either with some explanation or without, and in other ways. A clever, diligent boy, may perhaps find that I have done for him nearly all that he may want; but those who are less clever and less diligent will still require such help as any teacher can give them if he chooses. I have now and then repeated some things, and I have done it purposely.

I have given the French version of a few passages from one of the latest French translations. The French language can sometimes render a passage better than ours, owing to the resemblance between French and Latin construction being greater than the resemblance between English and Latin. It would be a very good exercise for those boys who have made some progress in French, to translate occasionally a chapter of Caesar into French, which the French teacher would correct.

After making my notes I compared them with those

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in Kraner's edition of the Commentaries (Berlin, 1855). There is very little resemblance between Kraner's notes and mine, the purpose of the two editions being, as it seems to me, different. I have found some of his notes useful, and I have referred to them. In several passages this edition differs from his, both in the text and the explanation of it. Yet I do not suppose that I am always right, because I think that I am. Kraner remarks very truly in his Preface, that a man who has more than a superficial acquaintance with Caesar, knows that in this writer, who is so much read and has so often been commented on, there is a good deal which is yet very far from being cleared up, and there are many passages which are understood in very different ways. He adds very judiciously, and I say the same, that nobody but a man who is lucky enough (or unlucky enough) to think that his own opinions only are right, can hope in all cases to have hit the true meaning, and to have satisfied every body.

I have added four small plans from Roesch (*Commentar über die Commentarien, &c.*, Halle, 1783): one to explain the passage in which Caesar speaks of his lines behind the Rhône, and of the great gap in the Jura (i. 6—9); a second to explain his movement when the Boii and Tulingi attacked his flank (i. 25, 26); a third to explain the battle on the Sambre (ii. 18—27), where Caesar was surprised by the Belgae, and showed all the talent of a great general, as he shows in his description the talent of a good writer; and the fourth to explain Sabinus' clever feat of arms, when the Unelli and others attacked his camp (iii. 19).

I need hardly say that to read Caesar without the help of a good map would be an unpardonable carelessness, and I do not suppose that any teacher will let his pupils

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neglect the geography. I have done a good deal to explain the geography, and sufficient, if a map is always referred to, when it is wanted.

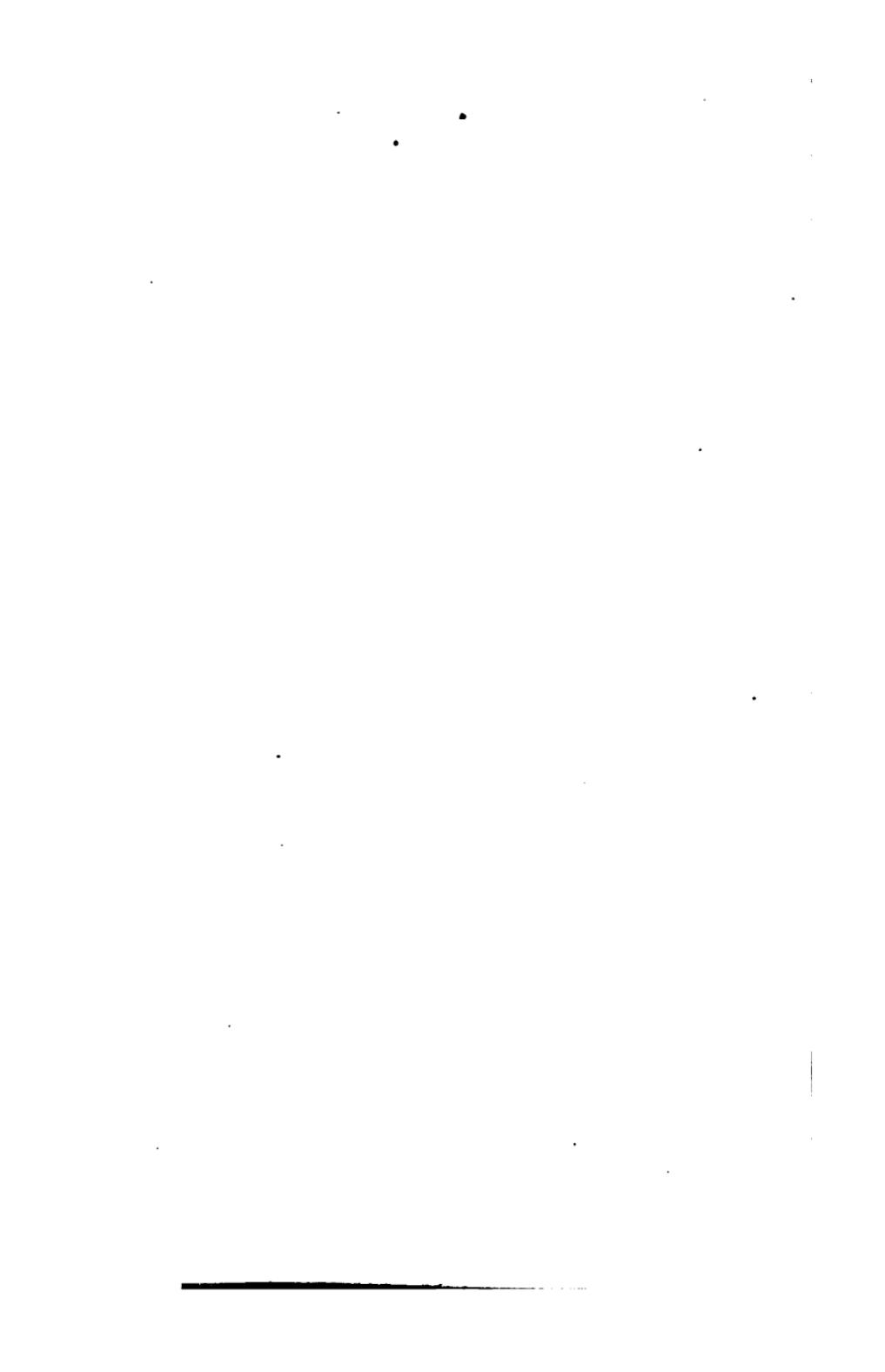
It is very useful to have a work of this kind examined by one who is engaged in teaching. My friend, Mr. Macleane, Head Master of King Edward's School, Bath, took the trouble to read over my notes, when they were in type. I found many of his suggestions useful, and endeavoured to profit by them; but, as there are passages in which he may still differ from the opinions expressed in these notes, he is in no way answerable for any mistakes that I have made.

G. LONG.

Brighton, October, 1856.

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DE BELLO GALLICO.

LIBER PRIMUS.

ARGUMENT.

CHAP. 1.—General description of Gallia. 2. The Helvetii prepare to emigrate from their country, at the suggestion of Orgetorix. 4. Death of Orgetorix. 5—9. The Helvetii attempt to pass through the Provincia, but are prevented by Caesar; they then take their route through the country of the Sequani. 10. Caesar goes to Italy and returns with five legions. 12. He follows the Helvetii, and overtakes one of their divisions, the Tigurini, at the passage of the Arar. The Tigurini are slaughtered and dispersed. 13. Conference between Caesar and the deputies of the Helvetii. 15. The Helvetii proceed on their march through the country of the Aedui, followed by Caesar. 16—18. The Aedui do not furnish the supplies which they promised to Caesar. The treachery of Dumnonix, the Aeduan: he is pardoned by Caesar on the intercession of his brother Divitiacus. 21, 22. Caesar's operations against the Helvetii fail through the blunder of P. Considius. 23—26. Caesar marches towards Bibracte to get supplies; the Helvetii turn from their route, follow him, and are totally defeated. 27, 28. The Helvetii surrender, and are compelled to return to their country, with the exception of the Boii, who are allowed to settle in the country of the Aedui. 29. The number of the Helvetii who attempted to emigrate, and the number that returned. 30—32. Caesar is congratulated on his victory by most of the states of Gallia, who complain to him of the tyranny of the German king Ariovistus. The story of Ariovistus and his settlement in the country of the Sequani. 33—36. The messages between Caesar and Ariovistus: the demands of Caesar and the refusal of Ariovistus. 37, 38. Caesar advances towards Ariovistus, and takes possession of Vesontio, on the Dubis, the chief town of the Sequani. 39—41. Great alarm in Caesar's army at the prospect of a battle with the Germani. 42—46. Conference of Caesar and Ariovistus interrupted by the treachery of Ariovistus. 47. Ariovistus invites Caesar to another conference: Caesar sends two men, whom Ariovistus puts in chains. 48—50. Caesar forms two camps; attack of the smaller camp by the Germani: superstition of the Germani about not fighting before the full moon. 51—54. Battle between Caesar and Ariovistus; defeat of the Germani, who are pursued to the Rhine; escape of Ariovistus over the river in a boat: Caesar returns to Citerior Gallia.

The events in this book belong to A.U.C. 696, or B.C. 58; and the consulship of L. Calpurnius Piso and A. Gabinius.

GALLIA est omnis divisa in partes tres, quarum unam incolunt Belgae, aliam Aquitani, tertiam qui ipsorum lingua

Gallia est omnis] ‘Gallia is altogether (omnis) divided.’ He means Provincia, which Caesar does not

Celtae, nostra Galli appellantur. Hi omnes lingua, institutis, legibus inter se differunt. Gallos ab Aquitanis Garumna flumen, a Belgis Matrona et Sequana dividit. Horum omnium fortissimi sunt Belgae, propterea quod a cultu atque humanitate Provinciae longissime absunt, minimeque ad eos mercatores saepe commeant atque ea quae

include in Gallia (c. 2). The word 'omnis' places Gallia in the general sense in opposition to Gallia, the country of the Galli or Celtae in the limited sense.

aliam] 'another.' If he were enumerating them in order, he would have said, or might have said, 'unam,' 'alteram' (the second).

Celtae] Caesar has just used the term 'Gallia omnis' to comprehend the three divisions severally occupied by the Aquitani in the south-west, the Belgae in the north, and the Celtae in the centre. Here he remarks that the Romans call the inhabitants of the central part Galli, by which term they distinguished them from the Aquitani and Belgae; but he adds, the people called themselves Celtae. As these Celtae were the largest part of the population of all Gallia, and the least mixed with other nations, the Romans, when they wished to comprehend all the three peoples in one name, used the word Galli.

institutis] 'Instituta' are any established usages of social life. 'Lex,' in the strict Roman sense, is a law promulgated in writing, and enacted in due form by the popular assembly; but Caesar does not use the word here in this strict sense.

Garumna] The Aquitanian nations, as Caesar describes their geographical position, were between the Pyrenees, the Atlantic Ocean, and the Garumna (Garonne). The Celtae or Galli were between the Garumna, and the Sequana (Seine), and the Matrona (Marne), one of the branches of the Sequana. They extended from the Atlantic Ocean to the Rhine. The river Ligeris (Loire), the

largest of the French rivers, was entirely within the country of the Celtae.

The Belgae occupied the country north of the Seine and the Marne. Their boundary on the east and north was the Rhenus (Rhine); and on the north-west and west the German Ocean or North Sea, and the Atlantic.

cultu] 'cultus' means such things as people daily use, their clothing, houses, and food. We have no one word which expresses it. It is 'their way of living.' See B. G. vi. 19, 'funera pro cultu magnifica,' 'funerals are splendid for the means of the people.'

'Humanitas' is best expressed by our word 'civilization,' or rather, by the word 'civility' in its older sense. But it is a mental and moral quality, not a material thing.

minimeque, &c.] 'and it is very seldom that mercatores go to them.' He expresses it thus: 'and in the least degree mercatores often go;' by which he does not deny that 'mercatores' did go into the country of the Belgae sometimes, but not so much as to other parts of Gallia; and so it appears that these adventurers, led by the love of gain, penetrated into barbarous nations before the Roman armies did.

The 'mercatores' are often mentioned in Caesar (i. 39; ii. 15; iii. 1). They were both Greeks of Massilia and Italians, who travelled about with such wares as were suited to the people. They supplied the Galli with wine and articles of luxury. In exchange they took money or slaves. They went about the country with waggons and pack-horses.

ad effeminandos animos pertinent important; proximique sunt Germanis, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, quibuscum continenter bellum gerunt: qua de causa Helvetii quoque reliquos Gallos virtute praecedunt, quod fere quotidianis proeliis cum Germanis contendunt, quum aut suis finibus eos prohibent, aut ipsi in eorum finibus bellum gerunt. Eorum una pars, quam Gallos obtinere dictum est, initium capit a flumine Rhodano; continetur Garumna flumine, Oceano, finibus Belgarum; attingit etiam ab Sequanis et Helvetiis flumen Rhenum; vergit ad septemtriones. Belgae ab extremis Galliae finibus oriuntur; pertinent ad inferiorem partem fluminis Rheni; spectant in septemtrionem et orientem solem. Aquitania a Garumna flumine ad Pyrenaeos montes et eam partem

Germanis] In Caesar's time, as it is now, the Rhine was the great boundary between the Germanic and the Gallic peoples. But before Caesar's time some Germans were established on the west side of the Rhine, and more of them wished to settle there.

incolunt] This word is generally used with an accusative. We might say, 'qui regionem trans Rhenum incolunt.' Here it is used alone: 'who dwell or live beyond the Rhine.'

Helvetii] See c. 2.—'quum . . . prohibent.' 'because they are engaged in almost daily battles with the Germans, while they are either repelling them (the Germans) from their own frontiers, or . . .'

Eorum una pars] 'One part of their country,' the country of all the Galli; 'which part it has been said that the Galli occupy' (obtinere). These 'Galli who occupy' are the people who, as he has said, call themselves Celtae.

a flumine Rhodano] The Helvetii were a Celtic people, and they were separated from the Roman Provincia (c. 2) by the Rhône, between the point where it flows from the Lake of Geneva and the great gap in the chain of the Jura (c. 6); and this is what Caesar means when he

says, 'it begins (on the east) from or at the river Rhône.'

attingit—ab Sequanis] The territory of the Sequani bordered on the Rhine, from a point somewhere about Bâle to some distance northward. The Sequani were, as we say, on the Rhine. The Latin preposition 'ab' denotes nearness to the noun with which it is joined. The French translation is this: 'du côté des Séquanes et des Helvètes il va jusqu' au Rhin'; which means 'on the side of the Sequani and the Helvetii it goes to the Rhine.'

vergit ad septemtriones] 'it turns to the north.' 'Septemtriones' is used both in the singular and the plural. There are two 'triones,' the Great Bear and the Little Bear. The Great Bear, which Homer calls Hamaxa, or the Wain, consists of seven conspicuous stars; and there are seven stars in the Little Bear similarly placed. The meaning of the word 'trio' is uncertain.

Belgae—oriuntur] 'The Belgae begin,' that is, 'the country of the Belgae begins, at (ab) the boundaries (extremis finibus) of Gallia,' or 'the country of the Galli, which he has just described. Here Gallia has a limited sense. It is not 'Gallia omnis,' but the Gallia of the Celtae.'

Oceani quae est ad Hispaniam pertinet; spectat inter occasum solis et septemtriones.

2. Apud Helvetios longe nobilissimus fuit et ditissimus Orgetorix. Is M. Messala et M. Pisone Coss. regni cupiditate inductus conjurationem nobilitatis fecit, et civitati persuasit ut de finibus suis cum omnibus copiis exirent: perfacile esse, quum virtute omnibus praestarent, totius Galliae imperio potiri. Id hoc facilius eis persuasit quod undique loci natura Helvetii continentur: una ex

ad Hispaniam] 'at' or 'near to Hispania' (Spain). In c. 7, 'pontem qui erat ad Genavam.' Caesar's geographical description is that of a person who is out of the country which he is describing, and south of it.

2. *Coss.*] This is the abbreviation of 'consulibus.' The Romans generally indicated the year by the names of the two consuls. Messala and Piso were consuls in B.C. 61.

regni—fecit] 'induced by a desire of royal power he made a combination of the nobles.' 'Conjunctio' is properly a combination ratified among the parties to it by an oath. 'Nobilitas' is the condition of a 'nobilis' or noble; but it is also used to signify 'a body of nobles.'

civitati—exirent] 'he persuaded the people to quit their territories.' 'Civitas' means the 'condition of a citizen,' but it also signifies a body of citizens, a political community, which we call a State. 'Persuadere' is followed by 'ut' and a subjunctive.

perfacile esse] This use of the infinitive occurs often in Caesar and other Roman writers. It means: 'he told them, or he argued that it was very easy;' the words or argument thus indirectly stated are put in the infinitive, and the verb on which the infinitive depends is suppressed.

Id hoc facilius] 'He persuaded them to it (id) the more easily that, or because.' 'Hoc' is the ablative case, and 'quod' refers to it. 'Per-

suadere' is used with an accusative (id), which refers to the matter in the preceding sentence, and a dative (eis), which refers to the persons who are persuaded. 'Hoc' expresses the instrument or means, literally 'by this:' and 'quod . . . continentur' explains what the 'hoc' is.

Helvetii] He defines the limits of the country of the Helvetii: 'on one side (una ex parte) they are bounded or confined by the river Rhine.' In fact the Helvetii were bounded by the Rhine both on the east and on the north as far as Bâle; but Caesar was not accurately acquainted with the course of the river. 'On the second part they are bounded by the mountains Jura, which are very high.' 'Mons Jura' does not mean a single mountain, but what we call a range of mountains. The Jura extends from a place called Fort l'Ecluse on the north bank of the Rhône below Geneva, in a general N.E. direction to the Rhine between Bâle and the junction of the Aar and the Rhine. This long mountain range formed a natural boundary between the Helvetii and the Sequani. The same range is continued opposite to Fort l'Ecluse and south of the Rhône. The river being shut in on the north by the slopes of the Jura and on the south by the Montagnes aux Vaches, runs through a gap which is about twelve miles long. 'On the third side they are bounded by the Leman Lake (Lake of Geneva) and the river Rhône.' He means that

parte flumine Rheno, latissimo atque altissimo, qui agrum Helvetium a Germanis dividit; altera ex parte monte Jura altissimo, qui est inter Sequanos et Helvetios; tertia lacu Lemanno et flumine Rhodano, qui provinciam nostram ab Helvetiis dividit. His rebus fiebat ut et minus late vagarentur et minus facile finitimus bellum inferre possent; qua de causa homines bellandi cupidi magno dolore afficiebantur. Pro multitudine autem hominum et pro gloria belli atque fortitudinis angustos se fines habere arbitrabantur, qui in longitudinem milia passuum CCXL, in latitudinem CLXXX patebant.

3. His rebus adducti et auctoritate Orgetorigis permoti constituerunt ea quae ad proficiscendum pertinerent com-

the southern boundary of the Helvetii is formed by the Rhône from the point (Fort l'Ecluse) where the Jura abuts on the Rhône, eastward as far as Geneva, which is at the south-western extremity of the Lake of Geneva. The rest of the southern boundary is formed by the Lake. He says nothing of the southern boundary of the Helvetii east of the Lake of Geneva, from which we infer that his knowledge of the country, which was got only by report, was not very exact; and also that the Helvetii did not occupy any of the higher and more mountainous parts of Switzerland.

Provinciam nostram] That part of Gallia which he calls Provincia was now a Roman Province and governed by Roman Proconsuls or Propraetors. It extended to the N.E. as far as Geneva, and its northern limit was the Rhône from Geneva to the junction of the Rhône and Saône at Lyon. The Rhône runs south from Lyon to the Mediterranean, and divides the Provincia into two unequal parts. The part east of the Rhône is bounded on the east by the high Alps. The part on the west is bounded by the Cevenna (Cévennes), and the heights to the north connected with it. Along the coast of the Mediterranean the Provincia extended from the river Varus (Var)

to the eastern extremity of the Pyrenees. In the latitude of Narbo (Narbonne) it also extended westward as far as Tolosa (Toulouse), which city with its territory was included in the Provincia.

His rebus fiebat ut] 'The consequence of all this was (the consequence of such limits) that they could not spread themselves so far' (as they wished). 'Facere,' 'efficere,' and 'fieri' are often used by Caesar followed by 'ut' with a subjunctive; and in all cases the subjunctive clause expresses a result of something that has preceded.

Pro multitudine] 'In proportion to the amount of the population and their military renown and reputation for courage.' Caesar makes the territory of the Helvetii 240 Roman miles in length and 180 in breadth. We do not know in what direction he estimated the length and breadth, but we may conclude almost certainly that they were estimated along the boundary of the Jura, or from s.w. to n.e.; and along the Rhône and Leman Lake, or from w. to e.

A Roman mile is 'mile passus,' a thousand double steps. When 'mile' is used in the plural it is a noun, and so the Romans said 'tria milia passuum,' and the like. See c. 25.

3. *quae — pertinerent*] 'to get ready what was useful or necessary

parare, jumentorum et carrorum quam maximum numerum coëmtere, sementes quam maximas facere ut in itinere copia frumenti suppeteret, cum proximis civitatibus pacem et amicitiam confirmare. Ad eas res conficiendas biennum sibi satis esse duxerunt: in tertium annum profecitionem lege confirmant. Ad eas res conficiendas Orgetorix deligitur. Is sibi legationem ad civitates suscepit. In eo itinere persuadet Castico, Catamantaloedis filio, Sequano, cuius pater regnum in Sequanis multos annos obtinuerat et a S. P. R. amicus appellatus erat, ut regnum in civitate sua occuparet, quod pater ante habuerat; itemque Dumnorigi Aeduo, fratri Divitiaci, qui eo tempore principatum in civitate obtinebat ac maxime plebi acceptus erat, ut idem conaretur persuadet, eique filiam suam in matrimonium dat. Perfacile factu

for the march.' In our language we can hardly distinguish between 'quae . . . pertinebant,' which means 'the things which were necessary,' and would contain an independent affirmation, and 'quae . . . pertinerent,' 'all the necessities,' 'such things as were necessary,' which contains no independent affirmation.

ut—suppeteret] 'that there might be a sufficient supply of grain on the march.' See c. 16, 'suppetebat.'

duixerunt] This word, the root of which, 'duc,' means 'to draw,' has the derived meaning of making a conclusion from certain premises or considerations. It means they 'estimated' or 'reckoned.'—'lege': 'by a law,' which means some formal declaration by those who had the power of making it (c. 1).

ad eas res conficiendas] Caesar repeats the words, and though such repetition is not liked in modern writing, it is necessary here; or, he must say the same thing in other words, which is not better.

persuadet—ut occuparet] A present 'persuadet' should be followed by a present 'occupet'; but 'persuadet,' an historical tense, has the sense of 'persuasit.' This is often so.

regnum—obtinuerat] 'had held

royal power among the Sequani;' he had been king of the Sequani. In these Gallic states kings rose and fell; they were not lasting. A man seized on power by some trick or by force, held it as long as he could, and finally was upset by some revolution, if he lived long enough. Here we see that the son had not succeeded the father.

S. P. R.] 'Senatu Populi Romani.' The Roman senate sometimes acknowledged foreign kings, and gave them the title of 'friend.' See c. 35.

Dumnorigi] Dumno-rix may be compared with Orgeto-rix; which comparison shows that 'rix' is a Celtic element, and it often appears in proper names. It is said that the name is written Dubnorex and Dubnoreix on some of the Gallic medals. This Dumnorix was Aeduus, Heduus, or Haeduus, for all three forms are used. The Aedui were west of the Sequani, and the chief part of their country was west of the Arar (Saône).—'principatum obtinebat': he held the first rank, but he was not a king. Orgetorix persuaded him to attempt to seize royal power, to make what is now called a 'coup d'état.'

esse illis probat conata perficere, propterea quod ipse suae civitatis imperium obtenturus esset; non esse dubium quin totius Galliae plurimum Helvetii possent; se suis copiis suoque exercitu illis regna conciliaturum confirmat. Hac oratione adducti inter se fidem et jusjurandum dant, et regno occupato per tres potentissimos ac firmissimos populos totius Galliae sese potiri posse sperant.

4. Ea res est Helvetiis per indicium enuntiata. Moribus suis Orgetorinem ex vinculis causam dicere coegerunt: damnatum poenam sequi oportebat ut igni cremaretur. Die constituta causae dictionis Orgetorix ad judicium omnem suam familiam ad hominum milia decem undique coegerit, et omnes clientes obaeratosque

non esse dubium quin] 'there was no doubt about the Helvetii being the most powerful people of all Gallia.' A word expressing doubt (dubium) is followed by 'quin' with the subjunctive. 'Quin' contains the crude form of the relative 'qui,' and a negation.

adducti] This can only refer to Casticus and Dumnorix, who were persuaded by the arguments of Orgetorix; and yet he says, 'inter se . . . dant,' 'they exchange promises and oaths,' which applies to all three. This is an example of careless writing.—'et regno occupato,' &c.: 'and if they seized the supreme power, they hoped with the aid of three of the most powerful and steadiest nations, to be able to get possession of all Gallia.'

4. *per indicium*] 'by information,' which means 'per indices,' by informers. 'Indices' are informers who are privy to a plot.—'ex vinculis . . . coegerunt: they compelled him to defend himself (*causam dicere*) in chains.' They declared that he must be in chains, and speak out of his chains. The story seems to show that Orgetorix was not imprisoned before the day of trial. Comp. c. 43, 'ex equis colloqui,' 'on horseback,' as we say; 'from their horses,' as the Romans said.

damnatum — cremaretur] 'if he was condemned, it was the law, that the punishment of being burnt alive followed.' 'Damnatum' depends on 'sequi,' and 'poenam' is explained by the subjunctive clause 'ut igni cremaretur,' as in the next chapter 'quod constituerant facere' is explained by 'ut . . . exeat.' Burning alive was a Gallic punishment.

Die — dictionis] 'On the day appointed for making his defence.'

omnem suam familian] Caesar uses a Roman word, 'familia,' which, in its widest sense, comprehends all who are in the power of a father of a family (paterfamilias), his wife, if she is 'in manu,' as the Romans called it, his children, and his slaves. We have no word which has this signification. Orgetorix brought with him his 'clientes et obaerati.' 'Clien*s*' is also a Roman word, which means a peculiar kind of dependent; but we must not conclude that the relation of client and patron was the same in Gallia and at Rome. 'Obaerati' are men under the obligation of debt. Orgetorix was a rich noble, and the mass of the people were poor in Gallia; but it is not said how he had so many debtors. He may have been a kind of feudal lord, the owner of land on which his dependents lived.

suos, quorum magnum numerum habebat, eodem conduxit: per eos ne causam diceret se eripuit. Quum civitas ob eam rem incitata armis jus suum essequi conaretur, multitudinemque hominum ex agris magistratus cogerent, Orgetorix mortuus est; neque abest suspicio, ut Helvetii arbitrantur, quin ipse sibi mortem consciverit.

5. Post ejus mortem nihilo minus Helvetii id quod constituerant facere conantur, ut e finibus suis exeant. Ubi jam se ad eam rem paratos esse arbitrati sunt, oppida sua omnia numero ad duodecim, vicos ad quadragesimos, reliqua privata aedificia incendunt, frumentum omne praeter quod secum portaturi erant comburunt, ut domum redditionis spe sublata paratores ad omnia pericula subeunda essent; trium mensium molita cibaria sibi quemque domo efferre jubent. Persuadent Rauracis et Tulingis et Latobrigis finitimus uti eodem usi consilio oppidis suis viciisque exustis una cum iis proficiscantur; Boiosque,

eodem conduxit] 'brought together to the same place; by means of them he escaped making his defence.' He escaped trial. By his men and retainers he overpowered the law.

jus suum] 'its authority.' We must not say 'its rights.' A State has power and authority as a State. 'Rights' are the several capacities and powers which individuals have from the State, by virtue of the Law.

neque abest suspicio—quin] 'and suspicion was not wanting that he died by his own hand.' This is another example of 'quin' and the subjunctive (c. 3). 'Sibi mortem consci(s)-ere' expresses the idea of a man being a conscious agent in his own death.

5. *nihilo minus*] 'nevertheless; 'by nothing less,' 'less in no degree.' 'Nihilo' is the ablative of 'nihilum,' which is generally shortened to 'nihil,' and sometimes to 'nil.'—'ut exeant' see c. 4, note, *damnatum &c.*

numero ad duodecim] 'to the number of twelve; ' 'in number as many as twelve,' 'up to twelve.' In c. 4, 'ad hominum milia decem.'

domum redditionis] 'hope of returning home.' Sometimes nouns which contain the root 'i,' 'go,' are followed by the accusative.—'trium mensium molita cibaria:' 'three months' flour.' Grain ground to be ready for use, without carrying their hand-mills with them. In vii. 71, 'frumentum . . . dierum xxx.'

Rauraci] A tribe who lived north of the Helvetii, on the left bank of the Rhine, in and about the place where the Romans afterwards built a city called Augusta Rauracorum, which is Augst in the Swiss canton of Bâle.

The Tulingi and Latobrigi were probably east of the Rhine, and were Celtic people who had settled on the German side of the river. The Bcii also were Galli, who had settled (incoluerant) east of the Rhine, and passed over into the Ager Noricus, the present Carniola and Steiermark in the Austrian empire. Caesar does not say when they had attacked Norcia. Norcia appears to be a place in the Ager Noricus, and it has been supposed to be Noring, near Gmünd, in Upper Carinthia.

qui trans Rhenum incoluerant et in agrum Noricum transierant Noreiamque oppugnarant, receptos ad se socios sibi adsciscunt.

6. Erant omnino itinera duo, quibus itineribus domo exire possent: unum per Sequanos, angustum et difficile, inter montem Juram et flumen Rhodanum, vix qua singuli carri ducerentur; mons autem altissimus impendebat ut facile perpauci prohibere possent: alterum per provinciam nostram, multo facilius atque expeditius, propterea quod inter fines Helvetiorum et Allobrogum, qui nuper pacati erant, Rhodanus fluit isque nonnullis locis vado transitur. Extremum oppidum Allobrogum est proximumque Helvetiorum finibus Geneva. Ex eo oppido pons ad Helvetios pertinet. Allobrogibus sese vel persuasuros, quod nondum bono animo in populum Romanum viderentur, existimabant, vel vi coacturos ut per suos fines eos ire paterentur. Omnibus rebus ad profectionem comparatis

receptos — adsciscunt] The Romans often use a participle and a verb where we use two verbs: 'the Helvetii admit the Boii among them, and attach them (adscisunt) to themselves as allies.' Compare c. 28, 'reductos in hostium numero habuit.'

6. *quibus itineribus]* The repetition of a noun with the relative is common in Latin. It is sometimes done to prevent ambiguity; and sometimes, as it is here, for the sake of emphasis: 'there were in all two roads, roads by which they could leave their home.' The clause which contains 'possent' being dependent on the chief clause 'erant,' expresses no direct affirmation; it does not say that there were no other roads, but that these were the only two roads by which it was possible for them to do it. The French is 'il n'y avait absolument que deux chemins par lesquels ils pussent sortir de leur pays.'

unum per Sequanos] 'through the country of the Sequani'; but the Romans say 'through the Sequani.' This road is the narrow pass made along the Rhône, between the heights

of the Jura and the river.—'vix qua singuli . . . ducerentur': 'hardly along such a road could waggons in single line be dragged.' 'Singuli' is generally used in the plural. The position of 'vix' before 'qua' is more emphatic, as in iii. 4, 'vix ut his rebus.'

alterum per provinciam] The second road was through the Roman Provincia, or the country south of the Rhône, after it leaves the lake of Geneva; and he adds, that the Rhône was fordable in some places (vado transitus) between Geneva and the great gap in the Jura.

The Allobroges were a Gallic nation, in the north-east part of the Provincia. They probably did not extend far east of the town of Geneva (iii. 1). They were reduced to tranquillity, which means to submission (nuper pacati), by the Roman governor, C. Pomptinus, in B.C. 62.

Geneva] This form occurs in some inscriptions, but in most of the MSS. the name is written Genua, which is the same form as the ancient name of Genua (Genoa) on the Mediterranean.

diem dicunt, qua die ad ripam Rhodani omnes convenient: is dies erat a. d. v. Kal. Apr. L. Pisone, A. Gabinio Coss.

7. Caesari quum id nuntiatum esset, eos per provinciam nostram iter facere conari, maturat ab urbe proficisci et quam maximis potest itineribus in Galliam ulteriorem contendit et ad Genevam pervenit. Provinciae toti quam maximum potest militum numerum imperat: erat omnino in Gallia ulteriore legio una: pontem qui erat ad Genavam jubet rescindi. Ubi de ejus adventu Helvetii certiores facti sunt, legatos ad eum mittunt nobilissimos civitatis, cuius legationis Nameius et Verudoctius prin-

qua die] 'they fix a time, and the time was the 28th of March, for the meeting of all at the banks of the Rhône.' 'That day was,' &c. The 'qua die' is emphatic, and the subjunctive (convenient) expresses the purpose for which the time is named. 'Is dies erat a. d. v.' Hero he fixes the exact day. This means 'is dies erat ante diem quintum Kalendas Aprilis,' 'the day was before the fifth day the Kalends of April.' It is a Latin form of expression, and it is confused. It is as if they said: 'the day was before the Kalends (first) of April the fifth day (inclusive);' and instead of saying 'dies quintus' in the same case as 'is dies,' these two words are put in the accusative, as they come between 'ante' and the accusatives 'Kalendas Aprilis.'

The Roman Kalendar was at this time in confusion, and we do not know what the real day was; but it was early in the year B.C. 58, in which year L. Piso and A. Gabinius were consuls.

7. *maturat ab urbe]* 'hastens to leave the neighbourhood of the city' (Rome). He was not in the city, but outside near the gates (ad portas), because, having received his military commission, he could not stay in the city. He had been waiting there to see the result of the turbulent proceedings which drove Cicero into exile.

quam maximis potest itineribus] This is the Roman order of words,

'by journeys the greatest that he can make,' the word 'potest' being placed between 'maximis' and 'itineribus.' He does not say where he crossed the Alps. The road by the pass of the St. Bernard would be the shortest; but he probably passed by the Mont Genèvre, which would bring him right into the Provincia. Plutarch says that he reached the Rhône in eight days.

Galliam ulteriorem] Gallia Transalpina or Gallia north of the Alps, as distinguished from Gallia Citerior or Cisalpina, or Gallia south of the Alps.

Provinciae toti—imperat] 'He imposes on the whole province (the Provincia in Gallia Transalpina) a demand for the largest possible number of soldiers.' This is a common expression, 'imperare aliquid,' with a dative of the person on whom the duty is imposed. After 'imperat' we may supply 'cogendum,' or some word of like meaning.—'certiores . . . sunt.' 'were informed.'

cuius legationis] When the sense will not allow the relative to agree with the antecedent, which here is 'legatos,' it is the practice to put another noun after the relative, as 'legationis' is here added to 'cuius.' See 10 note.—'legatos ad eum mittunt . . . qui dicerent.' 'they send ambassadors . . . to say.' This is another example of a past tense in the subjunctive answering to a present in the principal member of the sentence;

cipem locum obtinebant, qui dicerent, Sibi esse in animo sine ullo maleficio iter per provinciam facere, propterea quod aliud iter haberent nullum; rogare ut ejus voluntate id sibi facere liceat. Caesar, quod memoria tenebat L. Cassium consulem occisum exercitumque ejus ab Helvetiis pulsum et sub jugum missum, concedendum non putabat, neque homines inimico animo data facultate per provinciam itineris faciundi temperaturos ab injuria et maleficio existinabat: tamen, ut spatium intercedere posset, dum milites quos imperaverat convenienter, legatis respondit Diem se ad deliberandum sumpturum; si quid vellent, ad Idus April. reverterentur.

8. Interea ea legione quam secum habebat, militibusque qui ex provincia convenerant, a lacu Lemanno, qui in flumen Rhodanum influit, ad montem Juram, qui fines Sequanorum ab Helvetiis dividit, milia passuum decem novem murum, in altitudinem pedum sedecim fossamque

but here also, as in c. 3, the present is equivalent in sense to a past.—‘aliud iter haberent nullum’; ‘other road they had none.’ The position of ‘nullum’ at the end is emphatic. Comp. ii. 35, ‘quod ante id tempus accidit nulli.’

L. Cassius] The Roman consul L. Cassius Longinus was defeated by the Tigurini, B.C. 107, near the Lake of Geneva. The consul lost his life, and his army was compelled to pass under the yoke. The ‘jugum,’ or yoke, was a symbol of servitude. Two spears being set upright, and a third laid from one to the other, formed a kind of yoke, under which the conquered army passed.

temperaturos ab injuria] ‘would refrain from wrong and violence.’ ‘Temperare sibi’ means ‘to restrain oneself’ (c. 33).

ut spatium intercedere posset] ‘in order that some time might intervene while the soldiers whom he had called for were assembling.’—‘diem’; ‘time for deliberation.’ In this sense ‘dies’ is feminine.—‘ad Idus’; ‘on or about the Ides (13th) of April.’—‘si quid vellent’; ‘if they had any thing to say to him.’ It is

a familiar kind of expression, like ‘paucis te volo’ (Terence), ‘I have a few words to say to you.’

8. *qui influmen Rhodanum*] The Rhône enters the east end of the Leman lake, and the water of the lake flows from its western extremity into the channel called the Rhône. Caesar’s expression is exact, and yet some of the commentators have tried to spoil it.—‘ad montem Juram’; he means the range south of the Rhône, which corresponds to the range on the north side. But by adding ‘qui . . . dividit’ he has not made it clearer, for it is only that part of the range which is north of the Rhône which separated the Helvetii and the Sequani.

murum] He made an earth rampart to the height of sixteen feet, with a ditch in front of it. The height of the rampart is probably measured from the bottom of the ditch. The rampart began on the south side of the Rhône at the place where the lake flows into the Rhône, and was continued along the river to the Montagnes aux Vaches, or Cow Mountains. It was, he says, nineteen Roman miles long. The distance

perducit. Eo opere perfecto praesidia disponit, castella communit, quo facilius, si se invito transire conarentur, prohibere posset. Ubi ea dies quam constituerat cum legatis venit, et legati ad eum reverterunt, negat Se more et exemplo populi Romani posse iter ulli per provinciam dare, et si vim facere conentur prohibiturum ostendit. Helvetii ea spe dejecti navibus junctis ratibusque pluribus factis, alii vadis Rhodani, qua minima altitudo fluminis erat, nonnunquam interdiu, saepius noctu, si perrumpere possent conati operis munitione et militum concursu et telis repulsi hoc conatus destiterunt.

9. Relinquebatur una per Sequanos via, qua Sequanis invitis propter angustias ire non poterant. His quum sua sponte persuadere non possent, legatos ad Dumnorigem Aeduum mittunt ut eo deprecatore a Sequanis impetrarent. Dumnorix gratia et largitione apud Sequanos

measured along the river between the probable beginning and the end of the rampart is about 18,750 Roman 'passus.' The rampart was manned, and at intervals there were 'castella,' small forts or towers.

quo facilius—posset] The ablative 'quo' refers to all the arrangements, 'praesidia disponit, castella communit,' and the meaning is, 'to enable him more easily to keep off the enemy, if they should endeavour to cross the river against his wish.'

Helvetii &c.] 'The Helvetii being disappointed in that expectation, by joining boats together to bridge the river (navibus junctis), and by making many rafts, some of them (alii) by the fords of the Rhône, where the depth of water was least, sometimes in the day, oftener by night, having attempted to break through (si . . . conati), being repelled by the rampart and by the crowding of the soldiers to the places assaulted and by the missiles, desisted from this attempt.' Some persons might suppose that we must supply 'alii' before 'navibus junctis,' and translate it, 'some by bridges of boats, &c., and others by the fords, &c.' But Caesar means to say that the

great body attempted to bridge the river or to pass on rafts, and that some tried to ford it.

The Rhône is very rapid below Geneva, and not fordable always. It would be low at the season of which Caesar speaks. Some persons affirm that it is no where fordable at present between Geneva and Fort l'Ecluse.

9. *Relinquebatur &c.]* 'There remained the one way, that through the country of the Sequani.' He says 'the one way,' there was only one now.—'sua sponte': 'by their own means,' 'by themselves.'

eo deprecatore] 'by his aid and intercession.' We have no noun to express the agent 'deprecator.' 'Decipi' is a stronger form of 'precarri,' and often means to intreat that some punishment may not be inflicted or hindrance put in the way.

largitione] 'by presents,' giving of money or money's worth, always the most powerful of means.—'in matrimonium duxerat': 'had taken to wife'; he had conducted her to his house to live with him in the matrimonial state. The corresponding expression on the part of the father who gives his daughter is 'filiam in matrimonium dat' (c. 3).

plurimum poterat, et Helvetiis erat amicus quod ex ea civitate Orgetorigis filiam in matrimonium duxerat, et cupiditate regni adductus novis rebus studebat et quam plurimas civitates suo sibi beneficio habere obstrictas volebat. Itaque rem suscipit, et a Sequanis impetrat ut per fines suos Helvetios ire patientur, obsidesque uti inter sese dent perficit: Sequani, ne itinere Helvetios prohibeant; Helvetii, ut sine maleficio et injuria transeant.

10. Caesari renuntiatur Helvetiis esse in animo per agrum Sequanorum et Aeduorum iter in Santonum fines facere, qui non longe a Tolosatium finibus absunt, quae civitas est in provincia. Id si fieret, intelligebat magno cum periculo provinciae futurum ut homines bellicosos, populi Romani inimicos, locis patentibus maximeque frumentariis finitimos haberet. Ob eas causas ei munitioni quam fecerat T. Labienum legatum praefecit; ipse in Italiam magnis itineribus contendit duasque ibi legiones

novis rebus studebat] 'set his mind on change,' on political change; which here means revolution and usurpation, common things in Gallic history (ii. 1).—'suo sibi:' some editors omit 'sibi.' But it is probably right. Its place in Latin is between 'suo' and 'beneficio'; 'his design was (volebat) to have as many states as he could bound to him by his favours.'

uti dent perficit] A common use of 'facere' and 'perficere' with the subjunctive (c. 2); he induces them to exchange hostages; the Sequani to give them as a security that they will not prevent the Helvetii from taking this road; the Helvetii, that they will pass (through the country) without doing any harm.'

10. *renuntiatur*] 'it is reported to Caesar.' The 're' implies that he had men on the look out to bring back the news. It has a reference to something that precedes (c. 22, 'renuntiisse'; and c. 28, 'resciit').

Santonum] The Helvetii would have had a long march. The Santones or Santoni were north of the Garonne on the Atlantic, in the country afterwards called Saintonge.

The town of Saintes in the Charente, in the department of Charente Inférieure, is in the country of the Santones. The Santones did not border on the Tolosates, but the distance from their territory to Tolosa (Toulouse) was not great, and the road was open.

quae civitas] 'and this state.' The relative agrees with 'civitas,' which in meaning, but not in grammatical form, refers to 'Tolosatium.'—'futurum ut . . . haberet:' 'he says that it would be very dangerous to the Provincia to have warlike people,' &c. 'Fore' or 'futurum' is used with 'ut' and a tense of the subjunctive; with a past tense when the principal verb (intelligebat) is past, and with a present when the principal verb is present or future.

T. *Labienum*] One of Caesar's 'legati.' A 'legatus,' a word which is a participle of 'lega-re,' is a superior officer, to whom the command of a division, or, in some cases, of a separate army was given.

in Italiam] Into North Italy, Gallia Cisalpina, which Caesar sometimes comprehends in the term 'Italia.'—'ibi:' 'there,' in North Italy,

conscriptit, et tres quae circum Aquileiam hiemabant ex hibernis educit, et qua proximum iter in ulteriorem Galliam per Alpes erat cum his quinque legionibus ire contendit. Ibi Centrones et Graioceli et Caturiges locis superioribus occupatis itinere exercitum prohibere conantur. Compluribus his proeliis pulsis, ab Ocelo, quod est citerioris provinciae extremum, in fines Vocontiorum ulterioris provinciae die septimo pervenit, inde in Allobrogum fines, ab Allobrogibus in Segusianos exercitum ducit. Hi sunt extra provinciam trans Rhodanum primi.

11. Helvetii jam per angustias et fines Sequanorum suas copias traduxerant, et in Aeduorum fines pervenerant

'ibi' referring to 'Italiam.'—'conscriptit,' 'levies,' 'enters on his rolls' (ii. 2).

Aquileiam] A Roman colony in Gallia Cisalpina, at the head of the Adriatic. Caesar took the three legions which were still in their winter quarters (in hibernis), and raised, enrolled (conscriptit) two more. He had now in all six legions, besides the troops raised in the Provincia (c. 7). Caesar nowhere tells us what was the force of a legion. In B.C. 216 the regular legion was 4000 men, and 5000 on extraordinary occasions. This did not include cavalry.

ab Ocelo] Caesar crossed the Alps by the shortest road, he says, but he gives no name to the pass. It seems likely that he went over the Alpes Cottiae, by the pass of Mont Genève. Ocelum was the furthest place to the west in the Citerior Provincia, which is the Provincia of Gallia Cisalpina. It is supposed to be Uxeau. After crossing the Alps Caesar came into the country of the Vocontii, who were in the Ulterior Provincia, or in Gallia Transalpina. The Drome, a branch of the Rhône, runs through the country of the Vocontii. He then passed into the territory of the Allobroges by crossing the Isare (Isère), a branch of the Rhône. From the territory of the Allobroges he en-

tered the country of the Segusiani, after crossing the Rhône, which he tells us indirectly, for he says 'they (the Segusiani) are the first people out of the Provincia beyond the Rhône.'

The history shows that Caesar knew that the Helvetii had passed through the gap of the Jura into the country of the Sequani; and he was now following them.

11. *per angustias*] The Helvetii, consisting of near 400,000 persons, men, women, and children, with their horses and their waggons, must have travelled very slowly at this season of the year, not more than a few miles a day. While then they were wending their tedious way along the Rhône through the gap of the Jura and through the mud of Bresse, in the department of Ain, to the Saône, Caesar had time to go to Italy, to return, and to overtake them.

Aeduorum fines] It seems from this passage that the Aedu must have had some possessions east of the Saône, for Caesar does not speak of the Helvetii having yet crossed that river. If we assume that the Saône was the boundary between the Sequani and the Aedu, then we learn that part of the Helvetii had crossed the river, because they were plundering the country of the Aedu. But the narrative leaves us in a little doubt.

eorumque agros populabantur. Aedui, quum se suaque ab iis defendere non possent, legatos ad Caesarem mittunt rogatum auxilium: Ita se omni tempore de populo Romano meritos esse ut paene in conspectu exercitus nostri agri vastari, liberi eorum in servitutem abduci, oppida expugnari non debuerint. Eodem tempore Aedui Ambarri, necessarii et consanguinei Aeduorum, Caesarem certiorem faciunt sese depopulatis agris non facile ab oppidis vim hostium prohibere. Item Allobroges, qui trans Rhodanum vicos possessionesque habebant, fuga se ad Caesarem recipient, et demonstrant sibi praeter agri solum nihil esse reliqui. Quibus rebus adductus Caesar non exspectandum sibi statuit dum omnibus fortunis sociorum consumptis in Santonos Helvetii pervenirent.

12. Flumen est Arar, quod per fines Aeduorum et Sequanorum in Rhodanum influit, incredibili lenitate, ita ut oculis in utram partem fluat judicari non possit. Id Helvetii ratibus ac lintribus junctis transibant. Ubi per exploratores Caesar certior factus est tres jam partes copiarum Helvetios id flumen transduxisse, quartam vero

Ita se—debuerint] The words of the Aedui being reported in the indirect form, Caesar uses the infinitive as usual in such cases. He even says 'liberi eorum' instead of 'liberi sui.'—'Aedui Ambarri:' that is, Ambarri who were Aedui, who were comprised in the more general term Aedui. They were friends (necessarii) and kinsmen of the Aedui.

trans Rhodanum] The Allobroges, whose territory was south of the Rhône, had some villages (vici) and lands (possessiones) north of the river.

Quibus rebus] Caesar often uses this form, as in c. 2, 'his rebus.' A literal translation is not always suitable to the English idiom. We can say: 'by all this,' 'by these reasons,' 'by these considerations,' and so on.

12. *Flumen est Arar]* 'There is a river named Arar.' The Arar is the Saône, the modern name of which is a corruption of Sauonna,

one of the old Gallic names of the Saône. It has a slow course, but Caesar must have seen it when the water was very low: he says 'it is a river the slowness of whose current is past belief (incredibili lenitate), so that by the eye it cannot be determined which way it flows, up or down.'

'Fines' signifies boundaries and also territories. He says that the Arar flows through the territories both of the Aedui and the Sequani; and if we give to these words their plain meaning, the river was not the boundary all through its course, though in part of its course it probably was.

ratibus—junctis] 'by forming a bridge of boats.'—'tres jam:' 'jam' so placed makes the 'tres' emphatic. We might say 'full three parts out of four.'—'citra flumen:' 'on this side of the river,' on the side nearer to Caesar and between the Saône and the Rhône.

partem citra flumen Ararim reliquam esse, de tertia vigilia cum legionibus tribus e castris profectus ad eam partem pervenit quae nondum flumen transierat. Eos impeditos et inopinantes adgressus magnam partem eorum concidit: reliqui sese fugae mandarunt atque in proximas silvas abdiderunt. Is pagus appellabatur Tigurinus; nam omnis civitas Helvetia in quatuor pagos divisa est. Hic pagus unus quum domo exisset patrum nostrorum memoria, L. Cassium consulem interfecerat et ejus exercitum sub jugum miserat. Ita sive casu, sive consilio deorum immortalium, quae pars civitatis Helvetiae insignem calamitatem populo Romano intulerat, ea princeps poenas persolvit. Qua in re Caesar non solum publicas sed etiam privatas injurias ultus est, quod ejus socii L. Pisonis avum, L. Pisonem legatum, Tigurini eodem proelio quo Cassium interfecerant.

13. Hoc proelio facto reliquas copias Helvetiorum ut consequi posset pontem in Arare faciendum curat, atque ita exercitum transducit. Helvetii repentina ejus adventu commoti, quum id quod ipsi diebus viginti aeger-

de tertia vigilia] The Roman civil day began at midnight, like ours. The natural day began with sunrise and ended at nightfall. The natural day or daylight was divided into twelve equal parts, the length of which would vary with the season. The night was divided into four 'vigiliae' of three hours each. 'De tertia vigilia' means 'at the beginning of the third watch.' Caesar was in the country of the Segusiani, in which country Lyon is. He set out when it was still dark, in order to surprise the enemy. He had therefore not very far to go; and the Helvetii were crossing the Saône at no great distance above Lyon, not so high up as Matisco (Mâcon) on the Saône.

Is pagus] 'That canton,' as we may say. It has been conjectured that this word 'pagus' is the original of the French 'pays,' as 'Pays de Vaud.' The Pagus of the Tigurini was in the neighbourhood of the

Lake of Morat, and the Tigurini probably had the south-west part of the country which Caesar describes as the land of the Helvetii.—'L. Cassium': see c. 7.

quae pars—ea] This is the usual Roman construction: the relative clause stands first. Our language does not allow this; we must say 'that part of the Helvetic state which had inflicted a signal calamity on the Roman people, was the first that suffered (for it).' Plutarch and Appian say that Labienus attacked the Tigurini on the Saône.

ejus socii] Caesar married for his last wife Calpurnia, the daughter of L. Piso, consul B.C. 58. The grandfather of this Piso fell in the great battle with the Tigurini.

13. *commoti*] 'alarmed by his unexpected arrival.' The twenty days that they had spent in taking their people across, is not a longer time than would be required with such imperfect means as they had.

rine confecerant, ut flumen transirent, illum uno die fecisse intelligerent, legatos ad eum mittunt, cuius legationis Divico princeps fuit, qui bello Cassiano dux Helvetiorum fuerat. Is ita cum Caesare egit: Si pacem populus Romanus cum Helvetiis ficeret, in eam partem ituros atque ibi futuros Helvetios ubi eos Caesar constituisset atque esse voluisse: sin bello persequi perseveraret, reminisceretur et veteris incommodi populi Romani et pristinæ virtutis Helvetiorum. Quod improviso unum pagum adortus esset, quum hi qui flumen transissent suis auxilium ferre non possent, ne ob eam rem aut suae magno opere virtuti tribueret, aut ipsos despiceret: se ita a patribus majoribusque suis didicisse ut magis virtute quam dolo contenderent aut insidiis niterentur. Quare ne committeret ut is locus, ubi constitissent, ex calamitate populi Romani et internecione exercitus nomen caperet aut memoriam proderet.

14. His Caesar ita respondit: Eo sibi minus dubitationis dari quod eas res quas legati Helvetii commemoras-

They had many waggons to carry over. Caesar's bridge was probably of wood, such as he afterwards made over the Rhine.—'confecerant, ut flumen': 'what they had in twenty days with very great difficulty accomplished, the crossing of the river:' in Latin 'ut . . . transirent,' 'to cross the river,' is one of the forms which the Romans use to explain what has been said.

legatos—cuius legationis] See c. 7. It was now (B.C. 58) forty-nine years since Divico commanded in the war against Cassius (B.C. 107).

Is ita—egit] 'Agere cum aliquo' means to have any communication by words with another: 'He argued thus with Caesar,' or 'He used such arguments as these to Caesar.—'reminisceretur': 'he should remember.' This form of the subjunctive is used when a speaker's words are reported indirectly, as they are here. See c. 42, 'uterque cum exercitu veniret.—'improviso:' he says 'de improviso,' ii. 3.

ne—tribueret] 'he should not for-

that reason either greatly value his own merit or ..' 'Magno opere,' 'with great labour or effort,' is often written as one word. Either way it is used like an adverb. The complete expression with 'tribuere' is 'aliquid' or 'multum suae virtuti tribuere.' 'Quod . . . adortus esset' is the introduction to the words 'ne ob eam rem . . . despiceret,' and is placed first by the Roman writers. We express it by 'that' or 'because.'

ne committeret ut] 'wherwhere he should not act in such a way, that the spot on which they stood should take a name from the misfortune of the Roman people and the destruction of an army, or transmit the remembrance' (to posterity). 'Committere,' 'to put together,' means in such cases as this 'to act,' 'to cause.'

14. *Eo—quod]* 'Eo' is the ablative to which 'quod eas res . . . memoria teneret' refers. He answered: 'That he had less reason for hesitating (what to do), through the circumstance that' (eo . . . quod), which in one word is 'because.' Again,

sent memoria teneret, atque eo gravius ferre quo minus merito populi Romani accidissent: qui si alicujus injuriae sibi conscient fuisse, non fuisse difficile cavere; sed eo deceptum quod neque commissum a se intelligeret quare timeret, neque sine causa timendum putaret. Quod si veteris contumeliae obliuisci vellet, num etiam recentium injuriarum, quod eo invito iter per provinciam per vim tentassent, quod Aeduos, quod Ambarrois, quod Allobrogas vexassent, memoriam deponere posse? Quod sua victoria tam insolenter gloriarentur quodque tam diu se impune injurias tulisse admirarentur, eodem pertinere. Consuessed enim deos immortales, quo gravius homines ex commutatione rerum doleant, quos pro scelere eorum ulcisci velint, his secundiores interdum res et diurniorem impunitatem concedere. Quum ea ita sint, tamen, si obsides ab iis sibi dentur uti ea quae policeantur facturos intelligat, et si Aeduis de injuriis quas ipsis sociisque eorum intulerint, item si Allobrogibus satisfaciant, sese cum iis pacem esse facturum. Divico respondit: Ita Helvetios a majoribus

'eo gravius' is answered by 'quo minus'; 'and he was the more indignant, because (quo) it had not happened through the fault (merito) of the Roman people.' There is no accusative after 'gravius ferre,' as there often is, but it refers to 'eas res.' 'Merito' is the ablative; and means literally, 'by the deserving of the Roman people.'

qui si] This must be translated, 'for if the Roman people had been conscious they had done any wrong.' 'Qui' is the nominative to 'fuisse,' — 'neque commissum,' &c.: 'because they neither knew that they had done any thing to give them cause for fear, nor &c.' 'Quare' expresses what 'propter quod' would express, and would at the same time refer grammatically to 'commissum.'

num elium—posse] If Caesar or a third person were speaking directly, 'num' would have the indicative here.—'eo invito': 'against his will,' not 'se invito.' Madvig remarks that the pronoun 'is' can be used instead of 'se' in a secondary sentence, when

the subject or person spoken of is changed. I hardly know if this example comes within his rule. If Caesar had said 'se invito' there could be no ambiguity, for 'se invito' could not refer to 'tentassent.'

Quod sua, &c.] 'As to their boasting so insolently of their victory, and glorying that they had inflicted wrongs (injurias tulisse) so long with impunity, both pointed the same way,' and the next sentence explains this. If Caesar were speaking in the first person, the two clauses beginning with 'quod' would form a nominative to a verb 'pertinent.'

quo gravius—doleant] 'in order that men may suffer more from a change of circumstances, such men as the gods intend to punish for their crimes.' 'Velint' would be the subjunctive, even if Caesar were using the direct form.

quae policeantur] 'what they propose.' 'Police' means to 'offer,' 'propose.' 'Promittere' in its strict sense means to assent to a proposal that is made.

suis institutos esse uti obsides accipere non dare consuerint: ejus rei populum Romanum esse testem. Hoc responso dato discessit.

15. Postero die castra ex eo loco movent. Idem facit Caesar equitatumque omnem ad numerum quatuor milium, quem ex omni provincia et Aeduis atque eorum sociis coactum habebat, praemittit qui videant quas in partes hostes iter faciant. Qui cupidius novissimum agmen insecuti alieno loco cum equitatu Helvetiorum proelium committunt; et pauci de nostris cadunt. Quo proelio sublati Helvetii, quod quingentis equitibus tantam multitudinem equitum propulerant, audacius subsistere, non-nunquam et novissimo agmine proelio nostros lacessere coeperunt. Caesar suos a proelio continebat, ac satis habebat in praesentia hostem rapinis, pabulationibus populationibusque prohibere. Ita dies circiter quindecim iter fecerunt uti inter novissimum hostium agmen et nostrum primum non amplius quinis aut senis milibus passuum interesset.

16. Interim quotidie Caesar Aeduos frumentum quod

15. *equitatum*] Caesar's cavalry was all Gallic. He never had any but Gallic and German cavalry in his Gallic war.—‘ad numerum’: see c. 5, note on ‘ad.’—‘coactum habebat’: this is very like the use of ‘have’ in modern languages, ‘had collected,’ and there is no doubt that ‘habere’ in course of time was used by the Romans simply as an auxiliary verb; but here the meaning is, ‘which cavalry that he had was collected from all the *Provincia*,’ &c. The French translation is ‘au nombre de quatre mille hommes, qu'il avait levés dans la province entière;’ which is the form of the Latin, but it is not the exact meaning.

qui cupidius novissimum] ‘these men, with too much eagerness (cupidius), following on the rear of the enemy, came to a fight (proelium committunt) in unfavorable (alieno) ground.’ Caesar often uses ‘novissimum’ in the sense of ‘extremum.’ ‘Cupidius aliquid facere’ means to

do a thing with too much of passion, and little judgment.—‘audacius subsistere . . . cooperant’: ‘they began to halt with more confidence;’ when they felt inclined to stop their march, they did so; they did not hurry on as usual.

in praesentia] ‘for the time,’ ‘at the present time.’ the same meaning as ‘in praesenti tempore.’—‘non amplius . . . interesset’: they continued their march in such manner, that between their rear and Caesar's vanguard ‘there was always a distance of not more than five or six miles.’ He uses the distributives ‘quinis,’ ‘senis,’ five or six on each of the fifteen days.

16. *quod essent—flagitare*] The infinitive ‘flagitare’ is a Roman historical tense, which we translate by the indicative. ‘Publice polliciti’ means ‘had proffered on the part of the State’ (publice). The explanation of the subjunctive ‘essent’ is not easy. Caesar could have

essent publice polliciti flagitare. Nam propter frigora, quod Gallia sub septemtrionibus, ut ante dictum est, posita est, non modo frumenta in agris matura non erant, sed ne pabuli quidem satis magna copia suppeterat: eo autem frumento, quod flumine Arare navibus subvexerat, propterea uti minus poterat quod iter ab Arare Helvetii averterant, a quibus discedere nolebat. Diem ex die ducere Aedui; conferri, comportari, adesse dicere. Ubi se diutius duci intellexit et diem instare, quo die frumentum militibus metiri oporteret, convocatis eorum principibus, quorum magnam copiam in castris habebat, in his Divitiaco et Lisco, qui summo magistratui praeerat,

written 'erant,' but the form of the sentence would have been different. The chief verb is 'flagitare,' 'demanded,' and he demanded, because they had offered, and so the sentence perhaps means the same as if he had said, 'quum id essent publice polliciti.'

propter frigora] Caesar uses the plural in vi. 2. This passage shows that it was still spring, and it may have been a late spring.—'flumine Arare . . . subvexerat': 'which he had carried up (subvexerat) in ships by the Arar.' Compare c. 24, 'successerunt.' — 'propterea . . . quod': if the strict grammatical form were used, we should expect 'propter id . . . quod,' but 'propterea' was treated as one word: as Terence says, 'id propterea.' It is not the neuter plural, but as it seems 'propter eam (rem).' Key's Latin Grammar, § 802.

discedere] 'to leave,' 'to separate from them.' The Helvetii had left the Saône, and were making their way through the hilly country on the west of the river. These hills bound the valley of the Saône on the west. They are not high, and there are several roads through them.

Diem ex die] 'The Aedui were putting off Caesar from day to day' (*diem ex die*). The word 'Caesarem' must be supplied with the historical infinitive 'ducere.' 'Diem ex die' means 'to day from day.' The French

say 'de jour en jour.' 'Ducere' and 'e duci' explain one another. But 'ducere,' as Krane remarks, may refer to the delivery of the grain: 'from day to day they were delaying; saying they were getting it, carrying it together, it was already there.' The Romans use passive forms, 'conferri,' 'comportari,' which we cannot use, for we have no form of expression by passive verba. The French use their indefinite form 'on': 'disant qu'on le rassemblait, qu'on le transportait, qu'il était arrivé.'

metiri] This verb is supposed by some critics to have a passive sense here: 'the day on which it would be necessary for their allowance of corn to be measured out to the soldiers': but it may be the active. 'Frumentum' comprehends wheat (*triticum*) and barley (*hordeum*). Polybius (vi. 39) says 'that the allowance to the soldiers was measured out monthly'; and Livy (44, c. 2), calls the allowance 'menstruum,' 'a month's.'

qui—prueerat] Licus, 'who held the chief magistracy'; who was over the chief magistracy. *Vergobretum* is the name of the magistrate and not of the office, for he says 'qui creatur annuis,' 'who is yearly elected, and has power of life and death over (in) his people.' When then he says 'quem *Vergobretum*,' the word 'quem' refers to the whole

quem Vergobretum appellant Aedui, qui creatur annuus et vitae necisque in suos habet potestatem, graviter eos accusat quod, quum neque emi neque ex agris sumi posset, tam necessario tempore, tam propinquis hostibus, ab iis non sublevetur, praesertim quum magna ex parte eorum precibus adductus bellum suscepit; multo etiam gravius quod sit destitutus queritur.

17. Tum demum Liscus oratione Caesaris adductus quod antea tacuerat proponit: Esse nonnullos, quorum auctoritas apud plebem plurimum valeat, qui privatum plus possint quam ipsi magistratus. Hos seditiosa atque improba oratione multitudinem deterrere ne frumentum conferant quod praestare debeant; si jam principatum Galliae obtinere non possent, Gallorum quam Romanorum imperia perferre; neque dubitare debeant quin, si Helvetios superaverint Romani, una cum reliqua Gallia Aeduis libertatem sint erupturi. *Ab eisdem* nostra consilia quae-

expression 'qui summo... praecerat.' — 'convocatis eorum principibus... graviter eos accusat.' The interposition of many words of explanation between the first part of the sentence and the verb is very common in Caesar, but a little practice will remove all the difficulty that it causes.

neque emi—posset] 'frumentum' may be supplied as the nominative to 'posset'; or the phrase may be understood impersonally, as it is termed: 'there was no buying (corn) or taking it from the fields.'

17. *proponit*] 'declares,' 'speaks out.' The words of Liscus are given, as it is usual with Caesar, in the indirect form,—'apud plebem': 'with the common sort.' Caesar applies Roman terms to Gallic things.—'qui privatum,' &c.: 'who as private persons have more influence than even (ipsi) the magistrates.'

si jam—perferre] Something is perhaps wrong in the text both here and in the first part of this sentence. Some editions have 'imperia perferre satius esse,' which seems to be the meaning; and the expression is incomplete as it stands. He intends

to say 'that if the Aedui had now lost the supremacy in Gallia, (it would be better) to submit to the dominion of the Galli than of the Romans; and they should not hesitate to conclude that if the Romans defeated the Helvetii, they would snatch their liberty from the Aedui with the rest of the Galli,' for 'Gallia' here means 'Galli.' Krane has 'imperia praeferre, neque dubitare (debeant) quin.'

Ab eisdem] By the persons whom Liscus has already described as 'nonnullos.' 'Quin etiam' is often translated 'moreover.' As 'quin' contains the crude form of the relative 'qui' and a negation, the Romans said, 'Quin dicis?' 'why don't you speak?' Then they said, 'Quin dic,' 'come speak,' which is, 'speak, why don't you.' Finally they said, as it is said here, 'Quin etiam,' 'well, more than this;' or thus, 'did he not then also see,' that is, the speaker did see, 'that as to this matter which (quod) of necessity and under compulsion he had told to Caesar, with what great risk he did it, and this was the reason why (et ob eam causam) he kept silent &c.'

que in castris gerantur hostibus enuntiari: hos a se coercenti non posse. Quin etiam quod necessario rem coactus Caesari enuntiarit, intelligere sese quanto id cum periculo fecerit, et ob eam causam quam diu potuerit tacuisse.

18. Caesar hac oratione Lisci Dumnorigem, Divitiaci fratrem, designari sentiebat, sed quod pluribus praesentibus eas res jactari solebat, celeriter concilium dimittit, Liscum retinet: quaerit ex solo ea quae in conventu dixerat. Dicit liberius atque audacius. Eadem secreto ab aliis quaerit; reperit esse vera: *Ipsum esse Dumnorigem, summa audacia, magna apud plebem propter liberalitatem gratia, cupidum rerum novarum: complures annos portoria reliquaque omnia Aeduorum vectigalia parvo pretio redempta habere, propterea quod illo licente contra liceri audeat nemo.* His rebus et suam rem familiarem auxisse et facultates ad largiendum magnas comparasse; magnum numerum equitatus suo sumptu semper alere et circum se habere, neque solum domi sed etiam apud finitimas civitates largiter posse, atque hujus potentiae causa matrem in Biturigibus homini illic nobilissimo ac potentissimo

long as he could.' 'Quod... enuntiari' explains 'id,' but in the Latin idiom the relative clause stands first. Some editions have 'necessarium rem,' 'an urgent matter.'

18. *concilium*] 'the meeting.' 'Consilium' is a different word.

Ipsum esse &c.] 'That the man (quem designari sentiebat) was Dumnorix, a man of the greatest audacity.'—'portoria' : 'that for several years he had farmed (redempta habere) at a low rent the tolls (portoria) and all the rest of the taxes of the Aedu.' A Roman farmer-general (publicanus) was said 'redimere,' 'to buy the taxes,' to pay a fixed sum to the State for the right of collecting them. 'Portoria' are tolls paid on goods carried by roads or rivers, or by sea. 'Vectigalia' is a general name for taxes. The Roman 'vectigalia' were tenths (decumae) of the produce of grain, of oil, of wine, and of leguminous vegetables; the 'scrip-

tura,' or money paid for pasturing cattle on the public lands; and the 'portoria.'

cupidum] 'eager for revolution.'—'licente': 'when he was bidding.' The tolls were let by auction.—'magnum numerum': he was like a great feudal lord of the middle ages, who often defied his sovereign lord the king of France.

largiter posse] 'had great influence.' 'Multum potest' means a man is able to do a great deal; he has power.

matrem—homini—collocasse] We must supply 'nuptum,' 'to be married, in marriage.' 'Nuptum,' called a supine, is a noun in the accusative. The Romans also said 'collocare in matrimonium, in matrimonio.' He says 'nuptum in alias civitates,' 'to be married into other states,' that is, 'to men of other states.'

The Bituriges were a Celtic people, separated from the Aedu by the

collocasse, ipsum ex Helvetiis uxorem habere, sororem ex matre et propinquas suas nuptum in alias civitates collocasse. Favere et cupere Helvetiis propter eam affinitatem, odisse etiam suo nomine Caesarem et Romanos quod eorum adventu potentia ejus deminuta et Divitiacus frater in antiquum locum gratiae atque honoris sit restitutus. Si quid accidat Romanis, summam in spem per Helvetios regni obtainendi venire: imperio populi Romani non modo de regno sed etiam de ea quam habeat gratia desperare. Reperiebat etiam in quaerendo Caesar, quod proelium equestre adversum paucis ante diebus esset factum, initium ejus fugae factum a Dumnorige atque ejus equitibus; nam equitatui quem auxilio Caesari Aedui miserant Dumnorix preeerat; eorum fuga reliquum esse equitatum perterritum.

19. Quibus rebus cognitis, quum ad has suspicionea certissimae res accederent, quod per fines Sequanorum Helvetios transduxisset, quod obsides inter eos dandos curasset, quod ea omnia non modo injussu suo et civitatis

Ligeris (Loire). Their chief town was Avaricum (Bourges). The Bituriges occupied the ante-revolutionary province of Berri.—‘sororem ex matre’: ‘a sister on his mother’s side,’ a half-sister.

Favere et cupere] ‘He was a friend and partizan of the Helvetii on account of that marriage alliance’ (affinitatem). ‘Cupere’ is used with a dative when it signifies to be well ‘disposed to a person.’ ‘Affinitas,’ our affinity, is that relationship which is created by marriage between the husband and wife and the kinsfolk (cognati) of the wife and husband.—‘suo nomine’: ‘on his own account.’

Divitiacus] Divitiacus was a Druid, and he had visited Rome (i. 30), where he became acquainted with Cicero. He had been restored ‘to his former (antiquum) place in influence and rank.’

imperio populi Romani] ‘under the dominion of the Roman people;’ if the Roman people should obtain the supremacy in Gallia.—‘quod proelium,’ &c.: ‘in the cavalry fight

which had turned out unfavorable a few days before, the example (initium) of flight on that occasion was set (factum) by Dumnorix.’ When the Romans express an amount of time preceding or following a fixed time, they use the ablative (paucis ante diebus). ‘Ejus fugae’ may mean ‘the beginning of the flight,’ and then we must supply ‘in the cavalry fight, which’ &c. Or it may mean ‘the commencement of the flight in it (ejus),’ ‘ejus’ referring to ‘proelium.’—‘auxilio:’ the dative, ‘as auxiliaries.’

19. *accederent]* This verb is used with ‘ad’ and an accusative. ‘Quum’ with a subjunctive is often best translated by our English participial form: ‘This being known, and there being besides these suspicions most certain facts.’ The different facts are contained in each clause beginning with ‘quod.’—‘inscientibus ipsis:’ ‘without the knowledge of Caesar and the fellow-citizens of Dumnorix,’ the notion of ‘citizens’ being contained in the word ‘civitatis.’

sed etiam inscientibus ipsis fecisset, quod a magistratu Aeduorum accusaretur, satis esse causae arbitrabatur quare in eum aut ipse animadverteret, aut civitatem animadvertere juberet. His omnibus rebus unum repugnabat quod Divitiaci fratri sumnum in populum Romanum studium, summam in se voluntatem, egregiam fidem, justitiam, temperantiam cognoverat; nam ne ejus supplicio Divitiaci animum offenderet verebatur. Itaque prius quam quidquam conaretur, Divitiacum ad se vocari jubet, et quotidianis interpretibus remotis per C. Valerium Proculum, principem Galliae provinciae, familiarem suum, cui summam omnium rerum fidem habebat, cum eo colloquitur: simul commonefacit quae ipso praesente in concilio Gallorum de Dumnorige sint dicta, et ostendit quae separatim quisque de eo apud se dixerit. Petit atque hortatur ut sine ejus offensione animi vel ipse de eo causa cognita statuat vel civitatem statuere jubeat.

20. Divitiacus multis cum lacrimis Caesarem complexus obsecrare coepit Ne quid gravius in fratrem sta-

satis — causae — quare] ‘reason enough for either himself punishing Dumnorix or,’ &c. ‘Quare,’ which is the ablative ‘qua re,’ lost its exact signification, and was used as an adverb without any regard to its grammatical form. ‘Animum advertere’ or ‘animadvertere,’ ‘to turn the attention to,’ became a polite form to express punishment. See c. 24, where it means simply ‘ob-served.’

unum repugnabat] ‘only one thing presented an obstacle to all this’ (his omnibus rebus); the reasons for believing in the man’s treachery and for punishing him. This one thing is contained in ‘quod Divitiaci . . . cognoverat.’ Here he says ‘unum repugnabat quod . . . cognoverat.’ In the first part of the chapter the same ‘quod’ is followed by a subjunctive, but there it comes after the clause ‘quum . . . accederent.’ ‘Temperantiam’ means ‘his wise and prudent behaviour.’

quotidianis] The ‘common interpreters,’ those whom he generally

employed. This Proculus was a Gaul of the Provincia, who had a Roman name, and was a Roman citizen (c. 47).

cui summam — habebat] ‘in whom he put the greatest confidence in all matters’ (omnium rerum). ‘Habere’ is thus used with ‘fidem,’ and with a dative of the person who is trusted.

simul commonefacit — et ostendit] ‘Simul,’ as Kraner remarks, refers to ‘et ostendit,’ not to what precedes.

sine ejus vel — vel] ‘Petit’ is the word on which ‘statuat’ and ‘jubeat’ depend; and ‘atque hortatur’ strengthens the word ‘petit.’ ‘He begs of and presses Divitiacus to allow him without any offence either himself to pass judgment (statuat) on Dumnorix after inquiry into the case (causa cognita), or to tell the State to do it.’ The ‘vel, vel’ (probably a form of the verb ‘velle,’ wish) implies that there was a choice for Divitiacus. The Romans said ‘statuere de aliquo;’ and also, as we see in the next chapter, ‘gravius in aliquem statuere.’

tueret: scire se illa esse vera, nec quemquam ex eo plus quam se doloris capere, propterea quod, quum ipse gratia plurimum domi atque in reliqua Gallia, ille minimum propter adolescentiam posset, per se crevisset: quibus opibus ac nervis non solum ad minuendam gratiam sed paene ad perniciem suam uteretur. Sese tamen et amore fraterno et existimatione vulgi commoveri. Quod si quid ei a Caesare gravius accidisset, quum ipse eum locum amicitiae apud eum teneret, neminem existimaturum non sua voluntate factum; qua ex re futurum uti totius Galliae animi a se averterentur. Haec quum pluribus verbis flens a Caesare peteret, Caesar ejus dextram prendit; consolatus rogit finem orandi faciat; tanti ejus apud se gratiam esse ostendit uti et rei publicae injuriam et suum dolorem ejus voluntati ac precibus condonet. Dumnorix ad se vocat, fratrem adhibet; quae in eo reprehendat ostendit, quae ipse intelligat, quae civitas queratur, proponit; monet ut in reliquum tempus omnes suspiciones vitet; praeterita se Divitiaco fratri condonare dicit. Dumnorigi custodes ponit ut quae agat, quibuscum loquatur, scire possit.

21. Eodem die ab exploratoribus certior factus hostes sub monte consedisse milia passuum ab ipsius castris octo,

20. *propterea quod*] Here the words come together. See c. 16.—‘per se crevisset:’ ‘Dumnorix had grown in influence and power through him’ (Divitiacus).—‘nervis’ (sinews) signifies ‘strength,’ ‘power.’

si quid accidisset] In this form of expression the pluperfect is used. We say: ‘if any severe punishment was or should be inflicted on him by Caesar.’ In Latin the thing is viewed as done, and then the consequence is stated.—‘eum locum:’ the place which he did hold, that is, ‘such a place,’ in Caesar’s friendship.

futurum uti—averterentur] ‘the consequence would be that the disposition of all the Galli would become averse to him.’ See c. 10, note.

rogat—faciat] ‘Ut’ is omitted before ‘faciat,’ as it is sometimes

with such a verb as ‘rogare.’—‘tanti:’ one of the terminations in ‘i’ which express ‘price’ or ‘value:’ ‘Caesar declared that Divitiacus’ influence with him was strong enough (tanti) for him to take no account of the wrong to the (Roman) State and of his own anger, out of regard to the wish and entreaties of Divitiacus.’ ‘Condonare’ is followed by an accusative and a dative; the idea is that of making a gift of something to another, which is here the remission of a punishment.

fratrem adhibet] ‘he has his brother present.’ Caesar’s behaviour was politic. He was in great difficulties, and he was obliged to temporize. He afterwards put Dumnorix to death (v. 7).

21. *milia—octo*] He could say ‘milibus . . . octo,’ ‘at an interval of

qualis esset natura montis et qualis in circuitu ascensus qui cognoscerent misit. Renuntiatum est facilem esse. De tertia vigilia T. Labienum legatum pro praetore cum duabus legionibus et his ducibus qui iter cognoverant summum jugum montis ascendere jubet; quid sui consilii sit ostendit. Ipse de quarta vigilia eodem itinere quo hostes ierant ad eos contendit equitatumque omnem ante se mittit. P. Considius, qui rei militaris peritissimus habebatur, et in exercitu L. Sullae et postea in M. Crassi fuerat, cum exploratoribus praemittitur.

22. Prima luce quum summus mons a T. Labieno teneatur, ipse ab hostium castris non longius mille et quingentis passibus abasset, neque, ut postea ex captivis comperit, aut ipsius adventus aut Labieni cognitus esset, Considius equo admisso ad eum accurrit, dicit montem quem a Labieno occupari voluerit ab hostibus teneri; id se a Gallicis armis atque insignibus cognovisse. Caesar

eight Roman miles.—‘qualis in circuitu ascensus’: ‘what kind of ascent there was in the circuit of the hill;’ that is by going round it. He wished to know if he could get on this hill without being seen by the enemy, who were under one side of it. ‘Qui cognoscerent misit’ is one of the ordinary forms of the language: ‘he sent men to examine,’ ‘qui’ in this sentence serving the purpose of ‘ut.’ ‘Qui cognoscerent’ stands in the place of an accusative, as if he had ‘exploratores misit.’ But ‘cognoscerent’ has also another use here. The object of the examination was ‘qualis esset . . . ascensus,’ and all this clause has the character of an accusative after ‘cognoscerent’; as if he had said ‘naturam montis et ascensem qui cognoscerent.’ The clause ‘qualis,’ &c. must come before the ‘qui cognoscerent misit.’ When the learner has well understood this sentence, he will know something of Latin.—‘legatum pro praetore’: ‘legatus’ as the deputy of the praetor, who was Caesar.—‘quid sui consilii sit ostendit’: ‘he tells him what is his intention.’ It means ‘what is in his plan’ (see vi. 7); like ‘sapientis est

hoc facere,’ ‘it is a wise man’s part to do this.’ Caesar had turned the camp of the Helvetii, as the military men call it. He was ready to attack them at once in front and in the rear; and he would have defeated them easily, if Considius had not blundered.

L. Sullae] P. Considius had served under L. Cornelius Sulla the dictator, and M. Licinius Crassus. He was therefore not a young man, for Sulla had been dead more than twenty years.

22. *Prima luce]* ‘At the first light,’ the first of the day of which he is speaking; ‘at daybreak,’ as we say. ‘Summus mons,’ ‘the top of the mountain;’ for he is only speaking of one mountain, and he means ‘the mountain’s top.’ ‘Ipse’ of course is Caesar, and ‘ipse’ too.

equo admisso] ‘with his horse put to its speed;’ giving him the reins.—‘insignibus’: ‘standards,’ ‘colours,’ or something of the kind. Some critics take it to mean the military dress of the Helvetii, something which distinguished them, such as their helmets.—‘subducit’: ‘leads them up to the nearest hill.’

suas copias in proximum collem subducit, aciem instruit. Labienus, ut erat ei praeceptum a Caesare ne proelium committeret, nisi ipsius copiae prope hostium castra visae essent, ut undique uno tempore in hostes impetus fieret, monte occupato nostros exspectabat proelioque abstinebat. Multo denique die per exploratores Caesar cognovit et montem a suis teneri et Helvetios castra movisse et Considium timore perterritum quod non vidisset pro viso sibi renuntiassese. Eo die quo consuerat intervallo hostes sequitur, et milia passuum tria ab eorum castris castra ponit.

23. Postridie ejus diei, quod omnino biduum supererat quum exercitui frumentum metiri oportet, et quod a Bibracte, oppido Aeduorum longe maximo et copiosissimo, non amplius milibus passuum XVIII aberat, rei frumentariae prospiciendum existimavit, iter ab Helvetiis avertit ac Bibracte ire contendit. Ea res per fugitivos L. Aemilii, decurionis equitum Gallorum, hostibus nuntiatur. Helvetii, seu quod timore perterritos Romanos discedere a se existimarent, eo magis quod pridie superioribus locis oc-

Multo—die] ‘At last when it was full day,’ or it may mean ‘when there was at last much day,’ meaning that the day was far advanced. See c. 26, ‘ad multam noctem.’—‘quod non vidisset’: ‘the unseen.’—‘quo consuerat intervallo’: this interposition of a word between the relative and its noun is common.

23. *Postridie]* This word, which contains ‘die,’ and ‘postri,’ which is ‘posteri,’ is followed by a genitive like ‘pridie.’—‘omnino biduum . . . quum’: ‘as there remained only two days of the time when corn must be measured out.’ ‘Erant omnino,’ &c. c. 6.

Bibracte] This town was afterwards Augustodunum, now Autun, on the Arroux, a branch of the Loire. We do not know where Caesar crossed the Saône, nor where the Helvetii made their way from the valley of the Saône through the hills into the valley of the Loire; but if they were taking the nearest

road to the country of the Santones, they were going south of Autun, and here we are told that Caesar pursuing them was within eighteen miles of that town.

decurionis] A ‘decurio’ is one of the three commanders of a ‘turma,’ or troop of horse, which consisted of thirty-two or thirty-three men. The ‘fugitivi’ were deserters from the Gallic cavalry of Caesar. Some critics take ‘fugitivi’ to mean runaway slaves, such as are mentioned in c. 27, where, however, they are designated by other terms.

superioribus locis] The hill top which had been occupied by Labienus.—‘eo quod’: ‘by the circumstance that,’ or ‘because,’ as we say in one word; ‘they were confident that the Romans could be cut off from their supplies (re frumentaria).’ Here ‘quod’ has the subjunctive ‘quod . . . existimarent.’ It is not like ‘unum quod . . . cognoverat’ in c. 19; but it is a clause in which

cupatis proelium non commisissent, sive eo quod re frumentaria intercludi posse confiderent, commutato consilio atque itinere converso nostros a novissimo agmine insequi ac lacessere coeperunt.

24. Postquam id animum advertit, copias suas Caesar in proximum collem subducit, equitatumque qui sustineret hostium impetum misit. Ipse interim in colle medio triplicem aciem instruxit legionum quatuor veteranorum, ita ut supra se in summo jugo duas legiones quas in Gallia citeriore proxime conscripserat et omnia auxilia collocaret, ac totum montem hominibus compleret; interea sarcinas in unum locum conferri et eum ab his qui in superiore acie constiterant muniri jussit. Helvetii cum omnibus suis carris secuti impedimenta in unum locum contulerunt; ipsi confertissima acie rejecto nostro equitatu phalange facta sub primam nostram aciem successerunt.

25. Caesar primum suo, deinde omnium ex conspectu remotis equis, ut aequato omnium periculo spem fugae tolleret, cohortatus suos proelium commisit. Milites e loco superiore pilis missis facile hostium phalangem perfregerunt. Ea disiecta gladiis destrictis in eos im-

'quod' has the sense and construction of 'quum . . . existimarent.' — 'a novissimo agmine': 'on the extreme rear' of the Romans. See c. 15, and c. 1, note on 'ab.'

24. *qui sustineret*] 'to check the attack of the enemy.' See c. 21, 'qui cognoscerent misit,' 'he sent men to ascertain.'

triplicem aciem] 'he formed three lines (acies) of the four veteran legions.' These legions were the legion which he found in the Provincia, and the three which were wintering at Aquileia. — 'omnia auxilia': 'the auxiliary troops, not Roman.'

sarcinas] Each soldier's baggage, which he carried. Virgil (Georg. iii. 348) calls it a 'fascis,' or bundle. The 'impedimenta' are the heavy baggage of the army, which was carried in waggons or on horses.

rejecto nostro equitatu] 'after driving back our cavalry,' the Gallic cavalry of Caesar. The Helvetii formed a phalanx, or compact mass, to force the Roman lines; and they came up the hill (successerunt) to our first line.'

25. *deinde omnium*] The horses of the officers, or of such of them as had horses. The 'pilum' was about six feet long, a shaft of wood with a strong iron head. When it was well thrown, it would transfix a man, and thus the Romans broke the closed ranks of the enemy. The head of the 'pilum' would bend when it was driven into the shield.

gladiis destrictis] 'with their swords drawn' from the scabbard. The sword was worn on the right side. It was short, and fitted both for cutting and pushing. The Romans generally killed their men by

petum fecerunt. Gallis magno ad pugnam erat impedimento quod pluribus eorum scutis uno ictu pilorum transfixis et colligatis, quum ferrum se inflexisset, neque evellere neque sinistra impedita satis commode pugnare poterant; multi ut diu jactato brachio praeoptarent scutum manu emittere et nudo corpore pugnare. Tandem vulneribus defessi et pedem referre, et, quod mons suberat circiter mile passuum, eo se recipere coeperunt. Capto monte et succendentibus nostris, Boii et Tulingi, qui hominum milibus circiter xv agmen hostium cladebant et novissimis praesidio erant, ex itinere nostros latere aperto adgressi circumvenere, et id conspicati Helvetii, qui in montem sese receperant, rursus instare et proelium redintegrare coeperunt. Romani conversa

the straight thrust. The Gallic swords were long and not pointed.

magno ad pugnam] 'it was a great hindrance to the Galli to fighting that' (quod). 'Magno impedimento' is a dative. The word 'quod' introduces the words which explain what the hindrance was.—'multi ut.' 'so that many having for a long time shaken their arm about, preferred throwing the shield from the hand, and fighting with the body exposed (corpore nudo).' They tossed about the arm on which they carried the shield with the hope of shaking loose the spear which was stuck in the shield and trailing. Compare with 'multi ut,' 'vix qua' c. 6.

pedem referre] 'to step back,' still facing the Romans.—'mons suberat': 'a mountain was near about a thousand paces off.' 'Mile' is a noun here. They said 'mile passum,' 'a thousand of paces,' and 'mile passus,' 'a thousand paces.' See c. 2.

Capto monte] 'The mountain being reached by the Helvetii, and our men following up after them.'—'Boii et Tulingi': 'the Boii and Tulingi, who, with about fifteen thousand men, closed the enemy's march (agmen cladebant), and protected the rear, being still moving on (ex itinere), fell upon our men on their exposed flank (sperto latere)

and turned us' (circumvenere).—'Aperto latere' does not necessarily mean the right side, as some have supposed, because the soldier's right side was exposed, in consequence of carrying his shield on the left arm. The words simply mean the flank, which is always exposed. The Boii and Tulingi followed the body of the Helvetic army to protect the rear. They were still behind when the battle began, and still (marching on), when spying their opportunity, they turn the Romans, and fall on their flank, while the Romans were following the Helvetii. The Helvetii, who were retiring step by step, and had got on the hill, seeing that the Boii and Tulingi had fallen on the Roman flank, began to renew the attack.

Romani conversa] 'The Romans turning their standards advanced against the enemy in two divisions.' The first and second lines kept their position; the third turned round to face the Boii and Tulingi, and would now be in a direction at right angles to the first and second lines. Thus the Romans presented two fronts to the enemy, one to the Helvetii, the other to the Boii and Tulingi.—'summotis': 'driven from their position.' The Helvetii had been driven back.

signa bipartito intulerunt: prima ac secunda acies ut victis ac summotis resisteret, tertia ut venientes sustineret.

26. Ita ancipiti proelio diu atque acriter pugnatum est. Diutius quum sustinere nostrorum impetus non possent, alteri se ut coeperant in montem receperunt, alteri ad impedimenta et carros suos se contulerunt: nam hoc toto proelio, quum ab hora septima ad vesperum pugnatum sit, aversum hostem videre nemo potuit. Ad multam noctem etiam ad impedimenta pugnatum est, propterea quod pro vallo carros objecerant et e loco superiore in nostros venientes tela conjiciebant, et nonnulli inter carros rotasque mataras ac tragulas subjiciebant nostrosque vulnerabant. Diu quum esset pugnatum, impedimentis castrisque nostri potiti sunt. Ibi Orgetorigis filia atque unus e filiis captus est. Ex eo proelio circiter hominum milia **cxxx** superfuerunt eaque tota nocte continenter ierunt: nullam partem noctis itinere intermisso in fines Lingonum die quarto pervenerunt, quum et propter vulnera militum et propter sepul-

26. *ancipiti proelio*] 'thus the fight was continued long and furiously along the two fronts' (ancipiti proelio). There were two battles, or a fight on two different lines, which he calls an 'anceps,' double-faced battle.

alteri] 'one division' or 'part;' 'alteri,' the other. 'Alter, alter' expresses two persons, each separately. The plural 'alteri, alteri,' two collections of individuals. The Helvetii retired step by step, one division up the mountain, the other to their waggons; 'for,' he adds, 'no man in all that battle was able to see an enemy with his back turned.' 'Aversus,' a man who is turned from us, with his back towards us; 'adversus,' with his face towards us.—'ad multam noctem:' see c. 22, note.

e loco superiore] The waggons were on the slope of the hill, which position and the elevation of the waggons enabled the Helvetii to throw their missiles on the Romans. 'Mataras' is probably a Celtic word,

signifying a pike or pointed weapon; which the Helvetii 'pushed up' (subjiciebant) from the places between the waggons.

superfuerunt] The rest were killed. 'There survived this battle about 130,000,' men, women, and children. They continued their march all that night without interruption (continenter); and he says they continued their journey without stopping any following night (nullam partem noctis itinere intermisso), till they reached the territory of the Lingones. They marched north from the bloody field, along the west side of the hilly country called Côte d'Or. Kraner says that 'quarto' may be an error in the text, for Dibio (Dijon), the nearest town of the Lingones is not four days and nights' march from the neighbourhood of Bibracte. But it is not likely that the fugitives crossed the hills, which they must have done to reach Dibio.

sepulturam] Caesar had to stay three days because of the wounded

turam occisorum nostri triduum morati eos sequi non potuissent. Caesar ad Lingonas literas nuntiosque misit ne eos frumento neve alia re juvarent; qui si juvissent, se eodem loco quo Helvetios habiturum. Ipse triduo intermissio cum omnibus copiis eos sequi coepit.

27. Helvetii omnium rerum inopia adducti legatos de deditione ad eum miserunt. Qui quum eum in itinere convenissent seque ad pedes projecissent suppliciterque locuti flentes pacem petissent, atque eos in eo loco quo tum essent suum adventum exspectare jussisset, paruerunt. Eo postquam Caesar pervenit, obsides, arma, servos qui ad eos perfugissent poposcit. Dum ea conquiruntur et conferuntur, nocte intermissa, circiter hominum milia *vi* ejus pagi, qui *Verbigenus* appellatur, sive timore perterriti ne armis traditis supplicio afficerentur, sive spe salutis inducti quod in tanta multitudine deditiorum suam fugam aut occultari aut omnino ignorari posse existimarent, prima nocte e castris Helvetiorum egressi ad Rhenum finesque Germanorum contenderunt.

28. Quod ubi Caesar resciit, quorum per fines ierant,

and the burial of his dead. He says nothing of his loss; but the battle was terrible, and the Romans must have lost many men.

re juvarent] The command is implied in the words 'literas,' 'nuntios,' which is a common Latin form: 'by letter and messenger he gave the Lingones orders not to help the Helvetii with food, or any thing else; and if they did help, he would treat them just like the Helvetii.' 'Locus' and 'numerus,' says Kraner, when used in this sense, generally have not the preposition 'in.' See 'in eo loco,' c. 27.—'qui si juvissent': see c. 14, note on 'qui si.'

27. *servos qui—perfugissent*] 'any slaves that had run away to them; it is not 'the slaves which had run away,' for that would require 'perfugerant.' — 'nocte intermissa . . . prima nocte': these men escaped at nightfall (*prima nocte*), and they had the opportunity of doing this, for he tells us that a night intervened (*nocte*

intermissa) 'while they are looking for and bringing together' all that Caesar ordered the Helvetii to give up. — 'perterriti . . . inducti': he makes these participles agree with 'hominum milia *vi*', not grammatically, but with the notion of 'homines.'

Verbigenus] or 'Urbigenus.' It is probable that the 'pagus,' or Canton *Verbigenus* was north of the *Tigurinus*, and one of the places of the *Verbigeni* was the site of *Solothurn*, or *Soleure*, on the river *Aar*.

dediticii] 'Deditio' is an absolute surrender of an enemy, and all that they have. 'Dediticii' are defined to be men who have taken up arms against the Romans, and have surrendered.

28. *Quod ubi*] 'When Caesar found this out' (resciit). This word means to discover something that has been concealed, or has happened contrary to expectation. — 'si sibi purgati': 'if they wished to clear themselves

his uti conquerirerent et reducerent, si sibi purgati esse vellent, imperavit: reductos in hostium numero habuit: reliquos omnes obsidibus, armis, perfugis traditis in ditionem accepit. Helvetios, Tulingos, Latobrigos in fines suos unde erant profecti reverti jussit, et quod omnibus frugibus amissis domi nihil erat quo famem tolerarent, Allobrogibus imperavit ut iis frumenti copiam facerent: ipsos oppida vicosque quos incenderant restituere jussit. Id ea maxime ratione fecit quod noluit eum locum unde Helvetii discesserant vacare, ne propter bonitatem agrorum Germani, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, e suis finibus in Helvetiorum fines transirent et finitimi Galliae provinciae Allobrogibusque essent. Boios potentibus Aeduis, quod egregia virtute erant cogniti, ut in finibus suis collocarent concessit; quibus illi agros dederunt quosque postea in parem juris libertatisque conditionem atque ipsi erant receperunt.

29. In castris Helvetiorum tabulae repartae sunt lit-

in his judgment: 's'ils voulaient se justifier eux-mêmes.'—'reductos . . . habuit': 'he treated as enemies (in hostium numero) those who were brought back.' Cicero (Cat. iii. 10) says 'in hostium numero ducere.' Caesar massacred these eight thousand.

nihil—tolerarent] 'as they had nothing at home to enable them to support famine.' The relative 'quo' with the subjunctive is the Latin form, which we express by an infinitive.—'ut iis . . . facerent': 'to supply them with corn.'—'ea ratione . . . quod': 'for this reason that,' or 'because.' The relative 'quod' in this and like cases has the adverbial sense, and does not grammatically agree with 'ea ratione.'

propter bonitatem agrorum] This shows that the Helvetii of whom Caesar speaks occupied the plain parts of Switzerland, and not the present mountain cantons in the south.

Boios] 'Boios' depends on 'collocarent,' and 'ut collocarent' depends on 'potentibus; and 'concesserunt'

means he granted the request of the Aedui. 'Boios' is placed at the beginning of the sentence like 'Helvetios,' because it is the emphatic word.

parem—atque] 'atque' is thus used with 'par,' as in v. 13. It seems to be an expression settled by use, but somewhat inaccurate. We say 'they afterwards admitted them to the same terms of rights and freedom as they had themselves.' But in Latin it is, 'they admitted them to like terms of rights and freedom, and they themselves were (on the same terms).'

29. *tabulae*] Tablets, perhaps of metal. The writing was in the Greek character (litteris Graecis). The Celts had no alphabet of their own, and they learned the use of letters from the Greeks settled at Massilia (Marseille), and other parts of the south coast of France. The Druids used Greek characters for writing (vi. 14). The British Druids were more learned than the Celtic, for Caesar says that the Galli came to Britain to be instructed in the learning of the Druids (vi. 13). It follows

teris Graecis confectae et ad Caesarem relatae, quibus in tabulis nominatim ratio confecta erat, qui numerus domo exisset eorum qui arma ferre possent, et item separatim pueri, senes mulieresque. Quarum omnium rerum summa erat, capitum Helvetiorum milia **cclxiii**, Tulingorum milia **xxxvi**, Latobrigorum **xiv**, Rauracorum **xxiii**, Boiorum **xxxii**: ex his qui arma ferre possent ad milia **xcii**. Summa omnium fuerunt ad milia **ccclxviii**. Eorum qui domum redierunt censu habito, ut Caesar imperaverat, repertus est numerus milium **c et x**.

30. Bello Helvetiorum confecto totius fere Galliae legati, principes civitatum, ad Caesarem gratulatum converunt: Intelligere sese, tametsi pro veteribus Helvetiorum injuriis populi Romani ab his poenas bello re-

that the British Druids knew the art of writing and used the Greek character long before Caesar invaded this island. There are Gallic coins of an earlier date than Caesar's time with Greek letters on them.

quibus in tabulis] He repeats the noun as in c. 6. We should say, 'and in these tablets under the several heads (nominatim) an entry was made of the number that had left home of fighting men.' It is 'ratio . . . (numeri) qui numerus,' &c.; a common form of construction in the Commentaries. The expression is that of a hasty writer; but it is clear enough and forcible. 'Pueri, senes mulieresque' are put in the nominative, like 'qui possent,' but the regular construction would be 'puerorum,' &c., like 'eorum.'

Quarum—rerum] The word 'res' as usual. The Romans were always using it. We say: 'the total of all these particulars was.' The word 'heads' is used for 'persons,' and is common in the Roman form of enumerating population. We say sometimes 'so many souls.'—'ex his . . . qui possent:' 'ex his' refers to the whole number. 'Out of these the men who were capable of bearing arms amounted to,' 'the fighting men,' not 'poterant,' but 'possent.'

See c. 6, note; and c. 5, about 'ad milia.'—'summa . . . fuerunt:' here he has the plural.

censu habito] 'after numbering them.' A Roman 'census' is a numbering of the population and a registration of the value of property; here simply a numbering.

30. *totius fere Galliae]* In this chapter 'tota Gallia' means the country of the Celts. The words of the 'legati' are reported as usual in the indirect form: 'they came together to Caesar to congratulate him, (and said) That they were aware,' &c.—'tametsi . . . tamen:' Caesar often places these two words thus. Sometimes he says 'etsi . . . tamen.'

pro veteribus—populi Romani] 'for the old wrongs of the Helvetii towards the Roman people.'—'ex usu:' 'to the advantage of.' See i. 50. —'terre Galliae:' 'the country of Gallia.'—'eo consilio—uti—potentetur:' 'with the intention of taking possession of . . . and selecting a home out of a great abundance (of places). 'Florentissimi rebus,' a kind of ablative absolute: 'though they were in a most prosperous condition.' But the Helvetii thought they could mend their condition.—'fructuosissimum:' the territory of the

petisset, tamen eam rem non minus ex usu terrae Galliae quam populi Romani accidisse, propterea quod eo consilio florentissimis rebus domos suas Helvetii reliquissent, uti toti Galliae bellum inferrent imperioque potirentur locumque domicilio ex magna copia deligerent, quem ex omni Gallia opportunissimum ac fructuosissimum judicassent, reliquaque civitates stipendiarias haberent. Petierunt, Ut sibi concilium totius Galliae in diem certam indicere idque Caesaris voluntate facere liceret: sese habere quasdam res quas ex communi consensu ab eo petere vellent. Ea re permissa diem concilio constituerunt, et jurejurando ne quis enuntiaret, nisi quibus communi consilio mandatum esset, inter se sanxerunt.

31. *Eo concilio dimisso, iidem principes civitatum, qui ante fuerant ad Caesarem, reverterunt petieruntque uti sibi secreto in occulto de sua omniumque salute cum eo agere liceret.* Ea re impetrata sese omnes flentes Caesar ad pedes projecerunt: Non minus se id contendere et laborare ne ea quae dixissent enuntiarentur, quam uti ea quae vellent impetrarent; propterea quod, si enuntiatum esset, sumnum in cruciatum se venturos viderent. Locutus est pro his Divitiacus Aeduus: Galliae totius fac-

Sentones or Saintonge, which the Helvetii intended to seize (c. 10). It was a rich country, and it would have given the Helvetii a position on the Atlantic far removed from their troublesome neighbours the Germans. The Santones had ships (iii. 11).

Caesaris voluntate] 'with Caesar's permission.' — 'ex communi consensu:' 'by virtue of a common resolution.' The 'consensus' was to be ascertained by the meeting of the States (concilium). These meetings of the Gallic States are often mentioned.

constituerunt] They fixed a day for the meeting, and they met, and separated, as the context shows, after binding the members to secrecy by an oath, 'except those to whom instructions had been given (mandatum esset) by the general resolution of the assembly.' The secrecy was not

about the meeting, for that could not be secret; but about the matters in deliberation. 'Sancire' means to make a rule, and enforce it by a penalty.

31. *fuerant ad Caesarem]* 'had been to Caesar,' as we can say. Cicero uses the expression. Some editions have it 'qui ante fuerant, ad Caesarem reverterunt.' — 'reverterunt:' there are two forms, 'reverto' and 'revertor.' — 'secreto in occulto:' 'apart and in some retired place;' 'secreto' means 'separately,' from 'se' and 'cre,' 'to separate.'

Caesari ad pedes] This is the Roman form. We say 'at Caesar's feet.' — 'quae dixissent' does not mean 'what they had said,' but 'what they should say:' 'they were not less earnest and anxious about any thing that they said not being reported than they were about obtaining what they wanted.'

factiones duas] 'two parties.' See

tiones esse duas; harum alterius principatum tenere Aeduos, alterius Arvernos. Hi quum tanto opere de potentatu inter se multos annos contenderent, factum esse uti ab Arvernis Sequanisque Germani mercede arcesserentur. Horum primo circiter milia xv Rhenum transisse: posteaquam agros et cultum et copias Gallorum homines feri ac barbari adamassent, transductos plures: nunc esse in Gallia ad c et xx milium numerum. Cum his Aeduos eorumque clientes semel atque iterum armis contendisse; magnam calamitatem pulsos accepisse, omnem nobilitatem, omnem senatum, omnem equitatum amisisse. Quibus proeliis calamitatibusque fractos, qui et sua virtute et populi Romani hospitio atque amicitia plurimum ante in Gallia potuissent, coactos esse Sequanis obsides dare, nobilissimos civitatis, et jurejurando civitatem obstringere sese neque obsides repetituros neque auxilium a populo Romano imploraturos neque recusaturos quo minus perpetuo sub illorum ditione atque imperio essent. Unum se esse ex omni civitate Aeduorum qui adduci non potuerit ut

vi. 12. The Arverni occupied the centre of France, the country on the Allier and west of it, which contains the old volcanic region of the Auvergne.—‘factum esse uti . . . arcesserentur’: ‘the result was that the Germans were invited (sent for) by promises of reward.’ ‘Ar-cess-ere’ is compounded of ‘ar,’ which has the same meaning as ‘ad,’ and ‘cess,’ a frequentative form of ‘ci-re’ or ‘cie-re,’ as ‘capess-ere’ from ‘capere.’

et cultum] See c. 1.—‘ad numerum’: see c. 5, ‘numero ad duodecim.’—‘omnem senatum’: these Gallic States had a body of men who formed the chief ‘concilium,’ and Caesar gives to it the Roman name of ‘Senatus.’ They had also a body whom Caesar calls the nobility (nobilitas), a term which at Rome designated the descendants of those men who had filled the high offices in the state. But Caesar here means, no doubt, a rich class connected by marriage and possessed of the poli-

tical power. The ‘clientes’ of the Aedui are the smaller states which were dependent on the Aedui (vi. 12).

qui et sua] The antecedent is contained in ‘coactos esse,’ which is the same as ‘eos coactos esse.’ The sentence begins with a relative, which is common in Latin. It should be translated: ‘by these battles and misfortunes broken, though (qui) both by their own valour and through the alliance and friendship with the Roman people they had in former times been the most powerful people in Gallia, they were compelled to give hostages to the Sequani.’

recusaturos quo minus — essent] After ‘recusaturos’ we may suppose that in the complete expression ‘id’ would be added, and it would mean, ‘would not allege any reason for not being (id quo minus . . . essent),’ that is, ‘any thing by which or in consequence of which they should not be.’

juraret aut liberos suos obsides daret. Ob eam rem se ex civitate profugisse et Romanum ad senatum venisse auxilium postulatum, quod solus neque jurejurando neque obsidibus teneretur. Sed pejus victoribus Sequanis quam Aeduis victis accidisse; propterea quod Ariovistus, rex Germanorum, in eorum finibus consedisset tertiamque partem agri Sequani, qui esset optimus totius Galliae, occupavisset, et nunc de altera parte tertia Sequanos decedere juberet, propterea quod paucis mensibus ante Harudum milia hominum xxiv ad eum venissent quibus locus ac sedes pararentur. Futurum esse paucis annis uti omnes ex Galliae finibus pellerentur atque omnes Germani Rhenum transirent; neque enim conferendum esse Gallicum cum Germanorum agro, neque hanc consuetudinem victus cum illa comparandam. Ariovistum autem, ut semel Gallorum copias proelio vicerit, quod proelium factum sit ad Magetobriam, superbe et crudeliter imperare, obsides nobilissimi cujusque liberos poscere et in eos omnia exempla cruciatusque edere, si qua res non ad nutum aut ad voluntatem ejus facta sit. Hominem esse barbarum, iracundum, temerarium; non posse ejus imperia diutius sustinere. Nisi quid in Caesare populoque Romano sit auxilii, omnibus Gallis idem esse faciendum quod Helvetii fecerint, ut domo emigrent, aliud domicili-

Romam ad senatum venisse] Two accusatives in Latin in such cases: 'he went to Rome to the senate.' The same story is told in vi. 12.—'auxilium postulatum': 'to ask for help.' The claims or requests of the provincials were called 'postulata' (c. 42).

qui esset optimus] The territory of the Sequani lay between the Saône, the Jura, the Rhône, and the Rhine. Within these limits there is some of the best land in France, and particularly that between the Vosges and the Rhine.—'paucis mensibus ante': 'a few months before.' When an interval is measured between two periods, the time is in the ablative.

hanc—cum illa 'this,' the Gallic,

the nearer, 'with that,' the German, the more remote.—'Magetobriam. It is written Admagetobriam in some MSS. The site of the place is unknown.—'superbe . . . imperare': 'imposed his demands on them in an arrogant and cruel way.' The dative which expresses the persons on whom the order is imposed is omitted, and also the thing imposed. See c. 7, note.—'et omnia . . . edere': 'and makes examples of them by torturing them.' 'Edere' is 'to put forth,' 'to exhibit.'—'sustinere': this means 'se sustinere,' or we must take the reading 'sustineri.'

quod Helvetii fecerint] Here it is implied that the reason for the Helvetii leaving their country was the fear of the Germans.—'ut . . . emi-

lium, alias sedes, remotas a Germanis, petant, fortunamque quaecunque accidat experiantur. Haec si enuntiata Ariovisto sint, non dubitare quin de omnibus obsidibus qui apud eum sint gravissimum supplicium sumat. Caesar vel auctoritate sua atque exercitus, vel recenti victoria, vel nomine populi Romani deterrere posse ne major multitudo Germanorum Rhenum transducatur, Galliamque omnem ab Ariovisti injuria posse defendere.

32. Hac oratione ab Divitiaco habita, omnes qui aderant magno fletu auxilium a Caesare petere coeperunt. Animadvertisit Caesar unos ex omnibus Sequanos nihil earum rerum facere quas ceteri facerent, sed tristes capite demissso terram intueri. Ejus rei quae causa esset miratus ex ipsis quae si. Nihil Sequani respondere, sed in eadem tristitia taciti permanere. Quum ab his saepius quaereret neque ullam omnino vocem exprimere posset, idem Divitiacus Aeduus respondit: *Hoc esse miseriores et graviorem fortunam Sequanorum quam reliquorum quod soli ne in occulto quidem queri neque auxilium implorare audent, absentisque Ariovisti crudelitatem velut si coram adesset horrent, propterea quod reliquis tamen fugae facultas daretur, Sequanis vero, qui intra fines suos Ariovistum recepissent, quorum oppida omnia in potestate ejus essent, omnes cruciatus essent perforandi.*

33. His rebus cognitis Caesar Gallorum animos verbis confirmavit, pollicitusque est sibi eam rem curae futuram; magnam se habere spem et beneficio suo et auctoritate

grent: 'this clause in the subjunctive explains the words 'idem esse faciendum.' See c. 4, note.

32. *vocem exprimere*] 'on putting the question to them several times and not being able to draw a word out of them.—'hoc . . . quod,' 'by this . . . that' expresses how much the condition of the Sequani was worse than that of the rest. Compare c. 2.

propterea quod reliquis tamen] 'because the rest had still (tamen) the power of escape.' The sentence is elliptical; 'quod reliquis tametsi nihil aliud esset, tamen fugae,' &c.

33. *beneficio suo—adductum*] 'induced by the favour which he had received from Caesar; ' who in his consulship, B.C. 59, had served Ariovistus as he said or pretended, c. 35. —'secundum ea:' 'next to this,' after all that he had heard.—'quare . . . putaret:' 'many things urged him to conclude (quare).' 'Quare,' which is 'qua re,' had lost its proper signification and became what we call an 'adverb.' He has 'res,' 'quare,' 'eam rem.' He cares nothing about these things, which shock a modern writer who affects elegance.

adductum Ariovistum finem injuriis facturum. Hac oratione habita concilium dimisit. Et secundum ea multae res eum hortabantur quare sibi eam rem cogitandam et suscipiendam putaret; imprimis, quod Aeduos, fratres consanguineosque saepenumero a senatu appellatos, in servitute atque in ditione videbat Germanorum teneri, eorumque obsides esse apud Ariovistum ac Sequanos intelligebat; quod in tanto imperio populi Romani turpisimum sibi et rei publicae esse arbitrabatur. Paulatim autem Germanos consuescere Rhenum transire et in Galliam magnam eorum multitudinem venire populo Romano periculosum videbat; neque sibi homines feros ac barbaros temperaturos existimabat quin, quum omnem Galliam occupavissent, ut ante Cimbri Teutonique fecissent, in provinciam exirent atque inde in Italiam contenderent, praesertim quum Sequanos a provincia nostra Rhodanus divideret; quibus rebus quam maturime occurrentum putabat. Ipse autem Ariovistus tantos sibi spiritus, tantam arrogantiam sumpserat ut ferendus non videretur.

34. Quamobrem placuit ei ut ad Ariovistum legatos mitteret qui ab eo postularent uti aliquem locum medium

fratres consanguineos] 'Fratres,' 'brothers,' might be considered a mere form of speech; but 'consanguinei,' 'of the same blood,' is rather extravagant, unless we suppose that the Romans admitted that they were partly of Celtic stock, which is perhaps true. — 'neque sibi temperaturos . . . quin . . . exirent:' 'would not restrain themselves from going (out of their limits) into the Provincia, after they had got possession of all Gallia, as the Cimbri and Teutoni had done before.' It is quite necessary in English to place 'quum omnem . . . fecissent' after 'quin . . . exirent . . . contendenter.' The Cimbri and Teutoni or Teutones were first known to the Romans B.C. 113. They endeavoured to enter Italy on the north-east. A few years later some of this nation were in Belgium, whence they advanced into Gallia (Celtica), which they ravaged dreadfully. The people

shut themselves up in their towns, and were reduced to the extremity of eating one another (vii. 77). In B.C. 109 these barbarians entered the Roman Provincia, and defeated several Roman armies. In B.C. 102, C. Marius destroyed the army of the Teutoni at Aque Sextiae (Aix) on the east side of the Rhône. In the next year the Cimbri were defeated by Marius and Catulus in North Italy, and totally destroyed.—'tantos . . . spiritus:' used in the plural to express 'pride,' 'insolence.' See ii. 4.

34. *locum medium utriusque]* 'some place half way between each,' that is, each camp. In iv. 19 he has 'medius' again with a genitive.—'de re publica,' &c.: 'about the public affairs and the chief interests of each.' 'Res publica' is simply that which relates to all, to a community; as 'res privata' is that which concerns an individual.

utriusque colloquio diceret: velle sese de re publica et summis utriusque rebus cum eo agere. Ei legationi Arioistus respondit: Si quid ipsi a Caesare opus esset, sese ad eum venturum fuisse: si quid ille se velit, illum ad se venire oportere. Praeterea se neque sine exercitu in eas partes Galliae venire audere quas Caesar possideret, neque exercitum sine magno commeatu atque emolumento in unum locum contrahere posse; sibi autem mirum videri quid in sua Gallia quam bello viciisset aut Caesari aut omnino populo Romano negotii esset.

35. His responsis ad Caesarem relatis, iterum ad eum Caesar legatos cum his mandatis mittit: Quoniam tanto suo populique Romani beneficio affectus, quum in consulatu suo rex atque amicus a senatu appellatus esset, hanc sibi populoque Romano gratiam referret ut in colloquium venire invitatus gravaretur neque de communi re dicendum sibi et cognoscendum putaret, haec esse quae ab eo

si quid ille se velit] 'if Caesar wanted anything with him,' as we say. Terence has 'quidest quod me velis?' 'what is it that you want with me?'—'commeatu atque emolumento': 'with a large provision and great trouble.' If this is the meaning, 'emolumentum' is from 'emoliri,' 'to move with great labour.' 'Emolumen-tum' or 'emolumentum,' in the sense of profit, will not suit this passage. One MS. of Caesar has 'molimentum.'

quid—negotii esset] It is the Latin fashion often to separate from 'quid' the genitive which depends on it. The words interposed cause no obscurity in Latin; for on reaching the end of the sentence, we see that 'negotii' can only depend on 'quid.' We might say, 'it seemed strange to him what in his own Gallia, which he had conquered in war, either Caesar or the Roman people at all had to do.'

35. cum his mandatis] 'with this message,' or 'with these instructions.' 'Mandatum' (a participle) is what one man entrusts to another to do. The verb is 'mandare,' and is used with

a dative, c. 47.—'quoniam tanto . . . putaret.' All this is the first or introductory part of the sentence, and 'haec . . . postularet' is the conclusion, 'since this was so,' 'this is what he asked of him.' In the first part of the sentence there is interposed 'quum . . . appellatus esset,' 'though in Caesar's (suo) consulship he had been entitled king and friend by the Senate.' In such long sentences, if the parts thus interposed are omitted at the first reading, the construction will appear plainer, and the parts omitted can be taken in their proper place at the second reading.—'hanc . . . gratiam referret,' &c.: 'he made such a return to him and the Roman people, that he refused when invited to come to a conference, and did not consider that it was his duty to speak about the common interests and inform himself.' 'Ut . . . referret' is one of the subjunctive forms that are common in Caesar: it explains what precedes (c. 4, note). It was the Roman Senate which conferred these grand titles; it was not the 'populus Romanus' in the Comitia.

postularet: primum, ne quam multitudinem hominum amplius trans Rhenum in Galliam transduceret; deinde obsides quos haberet ab Aeduis redderet, Sequanisque permitteret ut quos illi haberent voluntate ejus reddere illis liceret; neve Aeduos injuria lacesseret neve his sociisque eorum bellum inferret. Si id ita fecisset, sibi populoque Romano perpetuam gratiam atque amicitiam cum eo futuram: si non impetraret, sese, quoniam M. Messala M. Pisone consulibus senatus censuisset, uti, quicunque Galliam provinciam obtineret, quod commodo rei publicae facere posset, Aeduos ceterosque amicos populi Romani defenderet, se Aeduorum injurias non neglecturum.

36. Ad haec Arioistus respondit: *Jus esse belli* ut qui vicissent iis quos vicissent quemadmodum vellent imperarent: item populum Romanum victis non ad alterius

obsides quos haberet ab Aeduis] 'the hostages whom he had of the Aedui'; and 'to let (permitteret)' the Sequani have the liberty of restoring to the Aedui the hostages whom the Sequani had.' (See c. 31.) The first 'illi' is the Sequani, and 'illius' is also the Sequani.—'voluntate ejus.' See c. 30.

Si—fecisset—si non impetraret] See c. 20, note: 'if he did so, &c.: 'if Caesar should not obtain.' The verb 'fecisset' expresses a simple fact, which being completed is followed by a consequence, 'that Caesar and the Roman people would for ever be grateful and on friendly terms with him.' 'Si non impetraret' does not denote a single fact, which would be 'impetrasset,' but a failure to obtain what he asked, even if he asked for some time and often.

senatus censuisset] 'the senate had made a resolution.' Cicero (De Prov. Cons. c. 13) tells us that Caesar formed the design of subduing all Gallia.—'provinciam obtineret.' 'Provinciam obtinere' means only 'to have the government of a province.'—'quod... posset:' 'so far as he could do it consistently

with the interest of the state' (commodo rei publicae): 'commodo' is the ablative; and sometimes 'cum' is used in this form of expression, as in Terence. In this sentence, after 'si non impetraret,' the conclusion is 'se Aeduorum injurias non neglecturum.' Between the beginning and the end is interposed 'quoniam... defenderet' and the pronoun 'se' is repeated with the conclusion of the sentence.

36. *Jus esse belli]* 'It was the law of war,' the rule in war, the practice of nations. This is one meaning of 'jus.'—'qui vicissent' simply expresses 'the conquerors,' and 'iis quos vicissent' is 'the conquered.' Comp. c. 44, 'victores victis.'—'si ipse,' &c.: 'if he had not directed the Roman people how to use their right, he ought not to be obstructed by the Roman people in (the exercise of) his right.' Here 'jus' has the other meaning, a legal faculty or right, such as an individual possesses by virtue of the law. A king or a sovereign people has strictly no legal 'right' in this sense; but Caesar here speaks of the power of a king or of a sovereign people as a right.

praescriptum sed ad suum arbitrium imperare consuessed. Si ipse populo Romano non praescriberet quemadmodum suo jure uteretur, non oportere sese a populo Romano in suo jure impediri. Aeduos sibi, quoniam belli fortunam tentassent et armis congressi ac superati essent, stipendiarios esse factos. Magnam Caesarem injuriam facere qui suo adventu vectigalia sibi deteriora faceret. Aeduis se obsides redditurum non esse, neque his neque eorum sociis injuria bellum illaturum, si in eo manerent quod convenisset, stipendumque quotannis penderent: si id non fecissent, longe iis fraternum nomen populi Romani abfuturum. Quod sibi Caesar denuntiaret se Aeduorum injurias non neglecturum, neminem secum sine sua pernicie contendisse. Quum vellet congrederetur: intellecturum quid invicti Germani, exercitatissimi in armis, qui inter annos XIV tectum non subissent, virtute possent.

37. Haec eodem tempore Caesari mandata referebantur, et legati ab Aeduis et a Treviris veniebant: Aedui questum quod Harudes qui nuper in Galliam transportati essent fines eorum popularentur; sese ne obsidibus quidem datis pacem Ariovisti redimere potuisse: Treviri

stipendiarios] 'tributary.' In the Roman system of taxation 'stipendiarii' are people who pay a fixed sum in money to the Roman state. — 'vectigalia,' see c. 18: here it means his revenues generally. He says 'that Caesar did him great wrong, since by his coming into Gallia he was damaging his revenues,' or 'by damaging his revenues by his coming into Gallia:' 'qui' so placed is equivalent to 'quum,' and at the same time serves the purpose of a relative.—'longe . . . abfuturum': 'that the name of brothers of the Roman people would be of no use to them': he says 'it would be a long way off for them.' 'Iis' is the dative.

Quod—contendisse] 'As to Caesar declaring to him that he would not overlook the wrongs done to the Aedui (he replied), that no man had come to a contest with him without being ruined.' 'Quod' is

the accusative case after 'denuntiaret,' and it refers to 'se . . . non neglecturum,' which is its grammatical antecedent, though placed after 'quod,' as is usual.—'quum vellet congrederetur': 'he might try a fight when he pleased.'—'inter annos XIV': 'during fourteen years.'

37. *eodem tempore—et*] We say 'this message was reported to Caesar at the same time that ambassadors,' &c. Sometimes 'idem' and 'atque' come together, as in ii. 8. The literal translation of this passage will show how others like it are to be understood.—'pacem Ariovisti,' &c.: 'they could not purchase peace from Ariovitus.'

Treviri] The Treviri were a Belgic nation between the Mosa (Maas) and the Rhine. Their territory extended along the Mosella (Mosel), on which river stood Augusta Trevirorum (Trier), a large city under the Roman empire.—

autem, pagos centum Suevorum ad ripas Rheni conserdisse qui Rhenum transire conarentur; iis praeesse Nasuam et Cimberium fratres. Quibus rebus Caesar vehementer commotus maturandum sibi existimavit, ne, si nova manus Suevorum cum veteribus copiis Ariovisti sese conjunxisset, minus facile resisti posset. Itaque re frumentaria quam celerrime potuit comparata magnis itineribus ad Ariovistum contendit.

38. Quum tridui viam processisset, nuntiatum est ei Ariovistum cum suis omnibus copiis ad occupandum Vesontionem, quod est oppidum maximum Sequanorum, contendere triduique viam a suis finibus profecisse. Id ne accideret magno opere sibi praecavendum Caesar existimabat. Namque omnium rerum quae ad bellum usui erant summa erat in eo oppido facultas, idque natura loci sic muniebatur ut magnam ad ducendum bellum daret facultatem, propterea quod flumen Alduas dubis ut circino circumductum paene totum oppidum cingit: reliquum spatium, quod est non amplius pedum ~~DC~~ qua

'pagos centum:' see iv. 1; he says that the Suevi have a hundred 'pagi' or cantons. Perhaps each of the hundred cantons had sent a detachment to the banks of the Rhine. But if this report was literally true, a great German invasion of Gallia by the whole Suevic nation was threatened.—'qui Rhenum . . . conarentur:' and they were attempting; the subjunctive mood is used by Caesar in stating this report.

'resisti posset' 'could not be so easily resisted,' but the dative 'ei' must be understood with 'resisti.'—'magnis itineribus:' 'great marches,' 'forced marches.' A regular day's march is 'justum iter.' Sometimes Caesar's men marched twenty and twenty-five miles a day (v. 47; vii. 40).

38. *quod est oppidum*] This is a common construction. The relative 'quod' refers to 'oppidum,' and not to 'Vesontionem.'—'profecisse:' some MSS. have 'processisse.' As 'proficere' means to 'make forward,' and to get some advantage, it may

mean that Ariovistus, intending to attack Vesontio, 'had got the advantage (over Caesar) by a three days' march from his country,' his third of the country of the Sequani.

quae ad bellum usui erant] 'which were useful (usui) for war.'—'sic muniebatur:' the imperfect denotes the natural character of the place: 'and it was naturally protected in such a way, that it presented great opportunities for protracting the war (ad ducendum bellum).'—'Alduas dubis:' this river, also called Doubas (Doubs), is a branch of the Saône. The town of Vesontio (Besançon) stands on a peninsula nearly surrounded by the Doubs, as Caesar describes it. But the distance across the isthmus is greater than the distance in the text.

reliquum spatium, &c.] 'the rest of the circuit, which is not more than six hundred feet at the part where the river does not flow, a hill bounds (continet) of great height, in such way that the banks of the river on each side touch the foot of the hill.'

flumen intermittit, mons continet magna altitudine, ita ut radices montis ex utraque parte ripae fluminis contingant. Hunc murus circumdatus arcem efficit et cum oppido conjungit. Huc Caesar magnis nocturnis diurnisque itineribus contendit, occupatoque oppido ibi praesidium collocat.

39. Dum paucos dies ad Vesontionem rei frumentariae commeatusque causa moratur, ex percontatione nostrorum vocibusque Gallorum ac mercatorum, qui ingenti magnitudine corporum Germanos, incredibili virtute atque exercitatione in armis esse praedicabant, saepenumero sese cum his congressos ne vultum quidem atque aciem oculorum ferre potuisse, tantus subito timor omnem exercitum occupavit ut non mediocriter omnium mentes animosque perturbaret. Hic primum ortus est a tribunis militum, praefectis reliquisque, qui ex urbe amicitiae causa Caesarem secuti [magnum periculum miserabantur quod] non magnum in re militari usum habebant: quorum

'non amplius' is used here and in other passages without any grammatical construction, 'a distance of six hundred feet, not more.' See c. 41, and ii. 29.—'mons continet' means 'a hill forms the boundary on the land side,' and so far does it bound the town, that the base of the hill extends on each side to the river.—'circumdatu's: 'a wall which is built round this hill makes a citadel of it, and unites it with the town.' The Latin participle shows the Latin brevity.

39. *rei frumentariae, &c.*] Caesar is always looking after the food for the army.—'commeatus' is a general term for any supplies.—'ex percontatione . . . mercatorum . . . tantus subito': 'in consequence of the frequent inquiries of our men,' &c. Between these two parts of the sentence Caesar places 'qui ingenti . . . potuisse,' and if these words be omitted at the first reading of the sentence, the whole will be plain.—'vocibus': he often uses this word in the plural. It means here 'the talk,' 'the much talk.'—'congressos': 'having met in battle,' which words

seem to apply to the Galli, who had fought with the Germans: 'they could not stand even the look of them and their fierce eyes.'—'acies oculorum' is a fixed, steady eye.

mentes animosque] As in vi. 5, 41; and see the note on iii. 19.—'tribunis militum': there were six tribunes to a legion. Polybius (vi. 34) says that each commanded the legion for two months.—'praefecti' was the name of commanders of the cavalry (iii. 26); and the cavalry was Gallic. But these 'praefecti' were the commanders of the auxiliary infantry (iii. 7); and these commanders were Romans, many of whom had followed Caesar to Gallia to get an appointment in the army. A little further, instead of 'praefecti,' he uses the expression 'qui que equitatu praerant,' 'all who had any command in the cavalry.'—'quorum alias alia causa . . . dicere': 'who severally urged various reasons (alius alia), which they alleged as making it necessary for them to go away.' These men being frightened tried to get leave of absence.

alius alia causa illata quam sibi ad proficiscendum necessariam esse diceret petebat ut ejus voluntate discedere liceret; nonnulli pudore adducti ut timoris suspicionem vitarent remanebant. Hi neque vultum fingere neque interdum lacrimas tenere poterant: abditi in tabernaculis aut suum fatum querebantur, aut cum familiaribus suis commune periculum miserabantur. Vulgo totis castris testamenta obsignabantur. Horum vocibus ac timore paulatim etiam ii qui magnum in castris usum habebant, milites centurionesque, quique equitatui praeerant, perturbabantur. Qui se ex his minus timidos existimari volebant, non se hostem vereri sed angustias itineris et magnitudinem silvarum quae inter eos atque Ariovistum intercederent, aut rem frumentariam ut satis commode supportari posset timere dicebant. Nonnulli etiam Cae-sari renuntiabant, quum castra moveri ac signa ferri jussisset, non fore dicto audientes milites neque propter timorem signa laturos.

40. Haec quum animadvertisset, convocato concilio omniumque ordinum ad id concilium adhibitis centurionibus vehementer eos incusavit: Primum, quod aut quam

vultum fingere] 'they could not fashion their countenance:' they could not put on a look which should not betray their fears.

Vulgo—testamenta] 'Among the men, all through the camp, they were sealing testaments.' In such cases a passive verb must be turned into an active, for we have no passive form corresponding to 'obsignabantur.' The sealing is the sealing of the witnesses to the will.

Qui—volebant] 'Those of them who were resolved to be thought less timid.' The French 'cah' express this: 'Ceux qui voulaient passer pour les moins effrayés.'—'rem frumentariam:' 'or they said they were afraid about the supplies of provisions, that they could not be conveniently brought up.' The nominative to 'posset' is 'res frumentaria,' but it is made the accusative after 'timere,' and it must be supplied before 'posset.' Having begun the sentence with 'hostem vereri,'

he puts 'rem frumentariam' in the accusative also, and explains his meaning by 'ut satis . . . dicebant.'

—'timere' with 'ut' and the subjunctive expresses a negative idea: 'vereor ut hoc fiat,' 'I fear this will not be.' See c. 42, 'vereri se no.'

As to 'supportari,' see c. 16, 'sub-

'vexerat.'—'dicto audientes:' 'obe-

dient to command.'

40. *omnium ordinum*] The legion contained ten 'cohortes,' each of which was divided into three 'manipuli,' and each 'manipulus' contained two 'centuriae.' The 'centurio,' an officer who was next in command to a 'tribunus,' commanded a 'centuria.' There were sixty 'centuriae' in a legion. The 'centuriae' were also called 'ordines,' and hence the 'centuriones' are called 'ordinum ductores.' A 'centuria' did not necessarily contain 100 men. Caesar's legion probably never exceeded 5000. — 'concilio . . . ad id concilium:' Caesar's fashion.

in partem aut quo consilio ducerentur sibi quaerendum aut cogitandum putarent. Arioivistum se consule cupidissime populi Romani amicitiam appetisse: cur hunc tam temere quisquam ab officio discessurum judicaret? Sibi quidem persuaderi cognitis suis postulatis atque aequitate conditionum perspecta eum neque suam neque populi Romani gratiam repudiaturum. Quod si furore atque amentia impulsus bellum intulisset, quid tandem vererentur, aut cur de sua virtute aut de ipsius diligentia desperarent? Factum ejus hostis periculum patrum nostrorum memoria, quum Cimbris et Teutonis a C. Mario pulsis non minorem laudem exercitus quam ipse imperator meritus videbatur; factum etiam nuper in Italia servili tumultu, quos tamen aliquid usus ac disciplina quam a nobis accepissent sublevarent. Ex quo judicari posset quantum haberet in se boni constantia; propterea quod quos aliquamdiu inermes sine causa timisissent, hos postea armatos ac victores superassent. Denique hos esse eosdem quibuscum saepenumero Helvetii congressi non solum in suis sed etiam in illorum finibus plerumque superarint, qui tamen pares esse nostro exercitui non potuerint. Si quos adversum proelium et fuga

ab officio discessurum] 'Ab officio discedere' means 'to depart from his duty,' which was to be grateful for what had been done for him.—'aequitate conditionum:' the fairness of the terms which he proposed to Arioivistus.—'sua virtute,' &c.: 'why should they despair about their own courage or his activity and care?'—'factum ejus,' &c.: 'they had made trial of the enemy,' whom C. Marius defeated (c. 33). 'Videbatur' ought to be the subjunctive according to the rule, that only infinitives and subjunctives are used when the words of a speaker are reported in the indirect form.—'servili tumultu:' 'in the insurrection of the slaves in Italy' in B.C. 73. Caesar means to say that there were Germans among the insurgent slaves; and many of them were probably prisoners made by Marius. Plutarch says there were Germans among the

revolted slaves. (Life of Crassus, c. 8.) The Romans bought and got slaves from all parts of the world. In 'quos tamen' we must supply 'servos' from the word 'servili': 'which slaves however practice and the discipline which they had learned from us helped (sublevarent) a little.' Many of these slaves which rose against the Romans were gladiators trained to the use of arms.

quibuscum — congressi] 'Superarint' is left without any case to refer to, and we must supply 'eos.' 'Qui tamen' refers to the Helvetii.

Si quos adversum proelium] He alludes to the battle of Magetobria, and again in the words 'subito adortum . . . viciisse.'—'hos . . . Arioivistum . . . desperantes jam de pugna . . . subito adortum . . . viciisse:' 'desperantes' refers to 'hos'; and the construction is made clear by writing the sentence as it is written

Gallorum commoveret, hos si quaererent reperire posse. diurnitate belli defatigatis Gallis Arioivistum, quum multos menses castris se ac paludibus tenuisset neque sui potestatem fecisset, desperantes jam de pugna et dispersos subito adortum magis ratione et consilio quam virtute viciisse. Cui rationi contra homines barbaros atque imperitos locus fuisset, hac ne ipsum quidem sperare nostros exercitus capi posse. Qui suum timorem in rei frumentariae simulationem angustiasque itinerum conferrent facere arroganter, quum aut de officio imperatoris desperare aut praescribere viderentur. Haec sibi esse curae: frumentum Sequanos, Leucos, Lingones subministrare, jamque esse in agris frumenta matura; de itinere ipsos brevi tempore judicaturos. Quod non fore dicto audientes neque signa laturi dicantur, nihil se ea re commoveri; scire enim quibusunque exercitus dicto audiens non fuerit, aut male re gesta fortunam defuisse, aut aliquo facinore comperto avaritiam esse convictam: suam

here.—‘neque sui potestatem fecisset:’ ‘and had not given the Galli an opportunity of fighting with him.’—‘desperantes jam de pugna:’ ‘when they had given up all hope of a fight, and were dispersed.’ ‘Jam’ after ‘desperantes’ marks emphatically that it was when the Galli no longer expected to fight that Arioivistus fell on them.

Cui rationi—hac] These inverted sentences are very difficult to translate, and they can only be translated in some such way as this: ‘though there had been an opportunity of practising *this* stratagem (*cui rationi*) against barbarians and men without experience, not even Arioivistus himself hoped that our armies could be caught the same way (*hac ratione*).’

Qui suum—conferrent] ‘Those who made the pretext about the supplies and the difficulties of the march the excuse for their alarm acted presumptuously, since they must be considered (viderentur) to be either doubting about the commander doing his duty or telling him

what he should do:’ a very difficult sentence to translate. ‘Timorem... conferre’ is ‘to assign a reason for their fears and a false reason (simulationem).’

Leucos] They were Belgae who lived on the *Mosa* (*Maas*). Their chief place was *Tullum* (*Toul*).—‘quod.. dicantur:’ ‘ea re’ and ‘quod’ are related, ‘ea re’ as an antecedent and ‘quod’ as referring to it; but in such sentences no regard is paid to the grammatical relation of gender. Changing the order of the words, we should say: ‘that he was not at all disturbed by this circumstance (ea re), that it was said they would not obey orders.’ He adds, ‘for he knew that those generals, whose army had not obeyed their commands, had either been deficient in good fortune, as proved by their want of success, or by the discovery of some crime their avarice was made manifest.’ ‘Convincere’ is generally used with an accusative and a genitive; and in the passive thus: ‘convincitur maleficii, ‘he is convicted of a crime.’

innocentiam perpetua vita, felicitatem Helvetiorum bello esse perspectam. Itaque se quod in longiorem diem collaturus fuissest repraesentaturum, et proxima nocte de quarta vigilia castra moturum, ut quam primum intelligere posset, utrum apud eos pudor atque officium an timor valeret. Quod si praeterea nemo sequatur, tamen se cum sola decima legione iturum de qua non dubitaret, sibique eam praetoriam cohortem futuram. Huic legioni Caesar et indulserat praeципue et propter virtutem confidebat maxime.

41. Hac oratione habita mirum in modum conversae sunt omnium mentes, summaque alacritas et cupiditas belli gerendi innata est; princepsque decima legio per tribunos militum ei gratias egit quod de se optimum judicium fecisset, seque esse ad bellum gerendum paratissimam confirmavit. Deinde reliquae legiones cum tribunis militum et primorum ordinum centurionibus egerunt uti Caesari satisfacerent: se nec umquam dubitasse neque timuisse, neque de summa belli suum judicium sed imperatoris esse existimavisse. Eorum satisfactione accepta, et itinere exquisito per Divitiacum, quod ex aliis ei maximam fidem habebat, ut milium amplius quinqua-

perpetua vita] 'by the whole course of his life.' 'Perpetuus' is 'continuous,' 'uninterrupted.' 'Felicitatem' is 'good fortune.'—'in longiorem,' &c.: 'what he had intended to put off to a further day, he would do immediately' (in *praesenti*).

praeterea nemo] 'not a single man besides.'—'praetoriam cohortem': the 'praetoria cohors' consisted of the commander's 'comites,' of those who were immediately about him.

41. *princepsque*] 'and first.'—'primorum ordinum': the 'centuriones' had different rank, according to the 'ordines' which they commanded, and the cohorts to which the 'ordines' belonged; but it is not quite clear who were the 'primorum ordinum centuriones,' at least modern critics do not state it clearly. Kraner says that the 'primorum ordinum centuriones' are the six 'centuriones' of the first

cohort of the legion; and it may be so for what I know.—'cum tribunis . . . egerunt': they urged the 'tribuni' and 'centuriones' of the 'primi ordines' to make an apology (ut *satisfacerent*) to Caesar. See c. 13, note on 'agere cum aliquo.'—'summa belli': 'the whole campaign,' the conduct of the war. 'Summa' is the 'total,' that which comprehends the whole of a thing.

et maximam fidem habebat] 'he had most confidence in him.' See c. 19.

ut milium—duceret] This clause must be connected with 'itinere exquisito'; 'and a road having been discovered with the assistance of Divitiacus, which enabled him by a circuitous march of more than fifty miles to lead his army through an open country.' 'Ut duceret' might be 'quo duceret.' 'Itinere . . . ut' is the same as 'eo itinere . . . ut . . .

ginta circuitu locis apertis exercitum duceret, de quarta vigilia, ut dixerat, profectus est. Septimo die quum iter non intermitteret, ab exploratoribus certior factus est Ariovisti copias a nostris milibus passuum **iv** et **xx** abesse.

42. Cognito Caesaris adventu Ariovistus legatos ad eum mittit: Quod antea de colloquio postulasset, id per se fieri licere quoniam proprius accessisset; seque id sine periculo facere posse existimare. Non respuit conditionem Caesar, jamque eum ad sanitatem reverti arbitrabatur, quum id quod antea petenti denegasset ultro polliceretur, magnamque in spem veniebat pro suis tantis populique Romani in eum beneficiis, cognitis suis postulatis, fore uti pertinacia desisteret. Dies colloquio dictus est, ex eo die quintus. Interim saepe ultro citroque quum legati inter eos mitterentur, Ariovistus postulavit ne quem peditem ad colloquium Caesar adduceret: Vereri se ne per insidias ab eo circumveniretur: uterque cum equitatu veniret; alia ratione sese non esse venturum. Caesar, quod neque colloquium interposita causa tolli

duceret Caesar.' He does not seem to mean that the circuitous road added fifty miles to the direct distance; but it was a circuitous route that he took, and more than fifty miles altogether.

'milibus passuum' 'were four-and-twenty miles distant; separated from him by an interval of four-and-twenty miles. Compare c. 43, 'aequo fere spatio.'

Caesar does not say in what direction he advanced from Besançon; but it was towards the Rhine, for the battle with Ariovistus was fought near the river. Nor does he say how far he advanced in the seven days, but he came to a great plain (c. 43). The great plain is the level country between the Vosges and the Rhine, and Caesar entered it in the southern part, probably between Altkirch and Belfort. The direct distance from Besançon to a point half way between Altkirch and Belfort is fifty-five miles.

42. *Quod—id per se fieri*] 'As to the demand for a conference which Caesar had already made, it might take place without any hindrance on his part, since Caesar had come near him.' 'Per me licet fieri' means a thing may be done for me, without hindrance from me.—'ultra polliceretur' 'since he went so far as to propose what he had before refused to Caesar's request.' 'Ultero' means 'to that place,' 'to the further place,' or 'in that direction,' and accordingly it often strengthens the word with which it is joined, and may be translated 'even.'

ultra citroque] 'backwards and forwards,' where 'ultra' is 'forwards' and 'citro' is 'backwards.' In Latin it is 'thither and hither'; 'ultra' towards Ariovistus, 'citro' towards Caesar.—'uterque veniret' 'each should come,' or 'let each come.' Compare 'quum vellet congrederetur,' c. 36.

interposita causa] Caesar 'neither

volebat neque salutem suam Gallorum equitatui committere audebat, commodissimum esse statuit omnibus equis Gallis equitibus detractis eo legionarios milites legionis decimae, cui quam maxime confidebat, imponere, ut praesidium quam amicissimum, si quid opus facto esset, haberet. Quod quum fieret, non irridicule quidam ex militibus decimae legionis dixit, Plus quam pollicitus esset Caesarem facere; pollicitum se in cohortis praetoriae loco decimam legionem habiturum, nunc ad equum rescribere.

43. Planities erat magna et in ea tumulus terrenus satis grandis. Hic locus aequo fere spatio ab castris Ariovisti et Caesaris aberat. Eo ut erat dictum ad colloquium venerunt. Legionem Caesar, quam equis devixerat, passibus ducentis ab eo tumulo constituit. Item equites Ariovisti pari intervallo constiterunt. Ariovistus ex equis ut colloquerentur et praeter se denos ut ad colloquium adducerent postulavit. Ubi eo ventum est, Caesar initio orationis sua senatusque in eum beneficia commemoravit, Quod rex appellatus esset a senatu, quod amicus, quod munera amplissima missa; quam rem et

chose to let the conference drop in consequence of any objection being interposed.'

Gallorum equitatui] His cavalry was Gallic, as it has been already said, in number four thousand (c. 15).—‘omnibus equis,’ &c.: ‘taking all the horses from the Gallic horsemen to place on them (eo) the soldiers of the tenth legion.’ ‘Eo’ is equivalent to ‘in eos.’—‘si quid opus facto esset’: ‘if there should be any thing to do;’ if the Gérman should prove treacherous.

non irridicule] ‘not without some humour.’ ‘Rescribere’ means to make an entry in a book which has the effect of changing a former entry. Hence it sometimes means to make an entry of payment, which has the effect of annulling the entry of a debt. Caesar now, as the joker said, ‘was entering the tenth legion on his muster rolls as cavalry. Perhaps the joke lies in the double meaning

of the words ‘ad equum rescribere,’ which mean ‘to transfer to the cavalry,’ and may in the soldier’s joke mean also ‘to remove to the rank of Roman equites.’

43. *ex equis ut colloquerentur*] ‘to hold the conference on horseback.’ See c. 4, ‘ex vinculis.’—‘praeter se denos’: ‘and besides themselves (him and Caesar), ten on each side.’

munera amplissima] A golden crown, a golden cup, a ‘sella curulis,’ such as the higher Roman magistrates sat on, an ivory staff, an embroidered toga, and a flowered tunic; such were the ‘munera’ which the Senate sometimes gave to the man whom they honoured with the title of king. (Livy, 30, c. 15.)—‘quum neque aditum,’ &c.: ‘though he had neither access, nor any reasonable ground for applying (to the Senate).’ The ‘accesse’ means, I suppose, by his ambassadors, for it does not appear that Ariovistus went to Rome.

paucis contigisse et pro magnis hominum officiis consuesse tribui docebat; illum, quum neque aditum neque causam postulandi justam haberet, beneficio ac liberalitate sua ac senatus ea praemia consecutum. Docebat etiam quam veteres quamque justae causae necessitudinis ipsis cum Aeduis intercederent; quae senatus consulta, quoties quamque honorifica in eos facta essent; ut omni tempore totius Galliae principatum Aedui tenuissent, prius etiam quam nostram amicitiam appetissent. Populi Romani hanc esse consuetudinem, ut socios atque amicos non modo sui nihil deperdere, sed gratia, dignitate, honore auctiores velit esse: quod vero ad amicitiam populi Romani adtulissent, id iis eripi quis pati posset? Postulavit deinde eadem quae legatis, in mandatis dererat, ne aut Aeduis aut eorum sociis bellum inferret; obsides redderet; si nullam partem Germanorum domum remittere posset, at ne quos amplius Rhenum transire pateretur.

44. Ariovistus ad postulata Caesaris pauca respondit, de suis virtutibus multa praedicavit: Transisse Rhenum sese non sua sponte, sed rogatum et arcessitum a Gallis; non sine magna spe magnisque praemis domum propinquosque reliquisse; sedes habere in Gallia ab ipsis concessas, obsides ipsorum voluntate datos; stipendum capere jure belli quod victores victis imponere consuerint.

—‘*ipéis cum Aeduis*: ‘between the Romans and the Aedui.’ ‘*Ipéis*’ is the dative.—‘*ut omni tempore*: ‘ut’ means ‘how.’

sed gratia, &c.] ‘but that they should receive an augmentation of interest, rank, and honour.’ The positive ‘auctus’ is used in the same way by Cicero: ‘*filio auctum esse*,’ ‘to have the addition of a son to his family.’

quid rero, &c.] ‘but that which they had when they sought the friendship of the Roman people, who could allow this (*id*) to be taken from them?’ Kraner remarks, that in cases where the present subjunctive would be used in a direct question, the imperfect is used (*quis pati posset*) when the question is made in the indirect form.

si nullam—at ne] ‘if he could not send home any part of the Germans, at least, he should not allow any more to cross the Rhine.’ ‘*At*’ properly denotes addition, not direct opposition. If one thing is allowed, yet (*at*) something else is claimed or insisted on.

44. *in Gallia ab ipsis*] That is, ‘*ab ipéis Gallis*;’ the word ‘*Gallia*’ suggests ‘*Galli*.’—‘*victores victis*,’ see c. 36.—‘*pace uti*:’ ‘to have peace,’ as we say; and further, on this chapter, ‘*neque . . . auxilio . . . usos esse*,’ ‘had not had the help of the Roman people.’—‘*sibi ornamento et praesidio*:’ ‘an honour and a protection to him;’ but in Latin they put ‘*ornamento*,’ ‘*praesidio*’ in the dative.—‘*dediticii*,’ see c. 27.

Non sese Gallis sed Gallos sibi bellum intulisse; omnes Galliae civitates ad se oppugnandum venisse ac contra se castra habuisse: eas omnes copias a se uno proelio pulsas ac superatas esse. Si iterum experiri velint, se iterum paratum esse decertare; si pace uti velint, iniquum esse de stipendio recusare, quod sua voluntate ad id tempus pependerint. Amicitiam populi Romani sibi ornamento et praesidio non detrimento esse oportere, idque se ea spe petiisse. Si per populum Romanum stipendium remittatur et dediticii subtrahantur, non minus libenter sese recusaturum populi Romani amicitiam quam appetierit. Quod multitudinem Germanorum in Galliam transducat, id se sui muniendi non Galliae impugnandae causa facere: ejus rei testimonio esse quod nisi rogatus non venerit, et quod bellum non intulerit sed defendenter. Se prius in Galliam venisse quam populum Romanum. Numquam ante hoc tempus exercitum populi Romani Galliae provinciae fines egressum. Quid sibi vellet cur in suas possessiones venire? Provinciam suam hanc esse Galliam, sicut illam nostram. Ut ipsi concedi non oporteret, si in nostros fines impetum faceret, sic item nos esse iniquos quod in suo jure se interpellaremus. Quod fratres [e senatus consulto] Aeduos appellatos diceret, non se tam barbarum neque tam imperitum esse rerum ut non sciret neque bello Allobrogum proximo Aeduos Romanis auxilium tulisse neque ipsos in his

Quod — transducat, id] In this form of sentence the Romans introduce the chief idea by 'quod . . . transducat,' and then they refer to the words 'quod . . . transducatur' by the word 'id,' 'it,' or 'that.' We have various ways of translating such a sentence.

ejus rei testimonio] Some editions have 'testimonium.' Either expression is Latin. This means, 'it was in the nature of a proof (testimonio) of this, that he did not come without being asked' (nisi rogatus).—'bellum defendere' means to 'repel war,' or 'an attack.'—'fines egressum': 'had gone out of the limits;' but Caesar generally uses 'egredi' with an ab-

lative.

Quid sibi collet cur? 'What reason had Caesar for coming into his possessions?' 'Sibi' is Caesar. 'Quid sibi hic vult?' means 'What does this man want?' 'Cur' (same as 'qua re,' or 'quare,' c. 33, 45) refers to 'quid,' and means the same as if it were 'propter quod.'—'Ut ipsi': 'ipsi' is Ariovistus.—'iniquos quod,' &c.: 'we were unjust in' or 'for disturbing him in his rights.' He could have said, 'qui . . . interpellaremus,' as in c. 36, 'qui . . . deteriora faceret.'

neque bello Allobrogum proximo] 'that neither in the last war with the Allobroges;' probably the war after B.C. 63.

contentionibus, quas Aedui secum et cum Sequanis habuissent, auxilio populi Romani usos esse. Deberet se suspicari simulata Caesarem amicitia, quod exercitum in Gallia habeat, sui opprimendi causa habere. Qui nisi decedat atque exercitum deducat ex his regionibus, sese illum non pro amico sed pro hoste habiturum. Quod si eum interfecerit, multis sese nobilibus principibusque populi Romani gratum esse facturum: id se ab ipsis per eorum nuntios compertum habere, quorum omnium gratiam atque amicitiam ejus morte redimere posset. Quod si decessisset et liberam possessionem Galliae sibi tradidisset, magno se illum praemio remuneraturum, et quae-cumque bella geri vellet sine ullo ejus labore et periculo confecturum.

45. Multa ab Caesare in eam sententiam dicta sunt quare negotio desistere non posset. Et neque suam neque populi Romani consuetudinem pati uti optime meritos socios desereret, neque se judicare Galliam potius esse Ariovisti quam populi Romani. Bello superatos esse Arvernos et Rutenos ab Q. Fabio Maximo, quibus populus Romanus ignovisset neque in provinciam redegisset neque

Debere se] 'That he had reason for suspecting that Caesar, under the pretence of friendship (simulata amicitia), having an army in Gallia (quod . . . habeat), had it for the purpose of crushing him.'—'qui nisi decedat,' &c.: 'and if he did not go away; for so 'qui si' must be translated. 'Decedere' is said of a Roman governor who leaves his province for a successor to take it; and here it means 'to evacuate the country of the Sequani.' A little further on he says, 'quod si decessisset,' 'if he would go away,' which tense is conformable to usage.—'ab ipsis:' from the chief people and nobles of Rome.—'quorum omnium . . . posset:' 'and that he could purchase all these mens' favour and friendship by Caesar's death.'—'Galliae:' this means Celtica, the country of the Celts (c. 1).

45. *quare]* This word refers to 'in eam sententiam:' 'for the pur-

pose of showing why (quare).'—'et neque:' if he had only said 'multa ab Caesare dicta sunt,' he would have continued, 'neque suam,' &c.; but having said 'in eam sententiam . . . quare . . . non posset,' the 'et' seems wanted to connect what he has told us that he said, without having told us particularly what it was, with what he said more particularly.—'Arvernos et Rutenos:' they were defeated by Q. Fabius Maximus, in B.C. 121, near the junction of the Rhône and the Isère. The Ruteni bordered on the Arverni on the south, and in Caesar's time part of them were included in the 'Provincia.' 'In provinciam redigere' is the Roman expression for reducing a conquered country to the form of a province. The word 'quos' must be supplied with 'redegisset.' He again uses a verb 'imposuisse,' which refers to 'quibus.'

stipendium imposuisset. Quod si antiquissimum quodque tempus spectari oporteret, populi Romani justissimum esse in Gallia imperium: si judicium senatus observari oporteret, liberam debere esse Galliam quam bello victam suis legibus uti voluisset.

46. Dum haec in colloquio geruntur, Caesari nuntiatum est equites Ariovisti proprius tumulum accedere et ad nostros adequitare, lapides telaque in nostros concidere. Caesar loquendi finem facit, seque ad suos recepit suisque imperavit ne quod omnino telum in hostes rejicerent. Nam etsi sine ullo periculo legionis delectae cum equitatu proelium fore videbat, tamen committendum non putabat ut pulsis hostibus dici posset eos ab se per fidem in colloquio circumventos. Posteaquam in vulgus militum elatum est, qua arrogantia in colloquio Ariovistus usus omni Gallia Romanis interdixisset, impetumque in nostros ejus equites fecissent, eaque res colloquium ut diremisset, multo major alacritas studiumque pugnandi majus exercitui injectum est.

47. Biduo post Ariovistus ad Caesarem legatos mittit: Velle se de his rebus quae inter eos agi coepiae neque

antiquissimum] 'Antiquus' is that which is before. He says, if 'priority in time was always to be regarded.' There is no other way of expressing 'antiquissimum.' — 'Galliam:' he means *Celtica*, in which were the *Arverni* and *Ruteni*. — 'liberam debere:' that *Gallia* ought to be free, since though it had been defeated in war, the Senate had determined that it should be free.' — 'suis legibus,' &c.: 'to have its own laws,' expresses political independence. The relative 'quam' cannot be translated literally. The French is, 'puisque (le sénat) avait voulu que vaincue elle conservât ses lois.'

The Romans had defeated the *Arverni* and *Ruteni* above sixty years before Ariovistus entered *Celtica*, and had still left them their liberty. If, then, priority of time was to be considered, the Roman claim over *Gallia*, whether it was to be free or enslaved, was superior to

the claim of Ariovistus.

46. *rejicerent*] 'not to return a single missile.' — 'legionis delectae:' these words depend on 'proelium.' — 'tamen committendum,' &c.: 'yet he did not think that he ought, by repulsing the enemy, to give them the opportunity of saying that they were surprised in a conference, by his not keeping his promise.' — 'per fidem,' which means 'through his fides,' implies here the violation of his 'fides.'

omni Gallia Romanis interdirisset] 'had declared that the Romans should be entirely excluded from *Gallia*.' This verb is generally used, as it is here, with a dative of the person and an ablative of the thing which is prohibited.

47. *agi coepiae*] 'had been begun to be treated,' as we sometimes say; but it is a bad form of speech, and is only an imitation of the Latin. The passive form 'coep-tus' is used by the Romans. We should say, 'about

perfectae essent agere cum eo: uti aut iterum colloquio diem constitueret, aut si id minus vellet e suis legatis aliquem ad se mitteret. Colloquendi Caesari causa visa non est, et eo magis quod pridie ejus diei Germani retineri non poterant quin in nostros tela conjicerent. Legatum e suis sese magno cum periculo ad eum missurum et hominibus feris objecturum existimabat. Commodissimum visum est C. Valerium Procillum, C. Valeri Caburi filium, summa virtute et humanitate adolescentem, cuius pater a C. Valerio Flacco civitate donatus erat, et propter fidem et propter linguae Gallicae scientiam, qua multa jam Arioistus longinqua consuetudine utebatur, et quod in eo peccandi Germanis causa non esset, ad eum mittere, et M. Mettium qui hospitio Arioistri utebatur. His mandavit ut quae diceret Arioistus cognoscerent et ad se referrent. Quos quum apud se in castris Arioistus conspexisset, exercitu suo praesente conclamavit: Quid ad se venirent? an speculandi causa? Conantes dicere prohibuit et in catenas conjecit.

the matters on which they had begun to confer.—‘agere cum eo:’ see c. 13, note.—‘retineri non poterant quin . . . conjicerent:’ another example of ‘quin,’ ‘could not be kept from frequently throwing.’ ‘Conjicerent’ expresses more than ‘jacent:’ but the ‘con’ in such compounds does not always mean a simultaneous act of many.—‘legatum e suis:’ this may mean, ‘one of his own people as a legatus or ambassador;’ and this makes the expression ‘e suis legatis’ doubtful; and accordingly some critics would write simply ‘e suis aliquem.’—‘C. Valerium Procillum:’ (see c. 19) a Gaul of the Provincia, whose father had been made a Roman citizen (civitate donatus erat), by C. Valerius Flaccus, who was governor of the Provincia in B.C. 83. The ‘humanitas’ of Procillus means his education, his intellectual acquirements (c. 1, note). The conferences with Arioistus were held in the Gallic language.

qua multa jam] ‘Multa’ is the ablative and refers to ‘lingua.’

‘Jam’ makes ‘multa’ emphatic. We cannot translate it by any single word. It means, ‘which language by long practice Arioistus spoke with ease.’—‘in eo peccandi:’ ‘the Germans had no reason for ill treating him.’—‘in eo,’ ‘in his person;’ as ‘in me,’ ‘in my case,’ and so on. The simple construction of the sentence, if we omit the intermediate parts, is, ‘commodissimum visum est C. Valerium Procillum . . . ad eum mittere.’—‘his mandavit:’ ‘he instructed them.’ See c. 35, note.

Quos quum] The usual Roman formula: ‘Now when Arioistus had seen them in his camp.’ ‘Conclamavit,’ ‘he exclaimed with violence,’ in a violent, passionate way. See ‘conjicerent,’ c. 47; and iii. 18, ‘conclamant omnes;’ and v. 50, ‘concurssari . . . jubet.’—‘quid ad se venirent:’ ‘why had they come to him?’ which is, ‘what did they want?’ (c. 44); ‘what did they mean?’

Conantes dicere prohibuit] Here we have an example of the beauty and force of the Latin language,

48. Eodem die castra promovit et milibus passuum sex a Caesaris castris sub monte consedit. Postridie ejus diei praeter castra Caesaris suas copias transduxit et milibus passuum duobus ultra eum castra fecit, eo consilio uti frumento commeatuque, qui ex Sequanis et Aeduis supportaretur, Caesarem intercluderet. Ex eo die dies continuos quinque Caesar pro castris suas copias produxit et aciem instructam habuit, ut, si vellet Ariovistus proelio contendere, ei potestas non deesset. Ariovistus his omnibus diebus exercitum castris continuuit, equestri proelio quotidie contendit. Genus hoc erat pugnae quo se Germani exercuerant. Equitum milia erant sex, totidem numero pedites velocissimi ac fortissimi, quos ex omni copia singuli singulos suae salutis causa delegerant. Cum his in proeliis versabantur, ad hos se equites recipiebant: hi si quid erat durius concurrebant; si qui graviore vulnere accepto equo deciderat, circumsistebant: si quo erat longius prodeundum aut celerius recipiendum, tanta erat horum exercitatione celeritas ut jubis equorum sublevati cursum adaequarent.

which we cannot imitate. We say, 'he stopped them as they were attempting to speak and put them (conjectit) in chains.'

48. *sub monte consedit*] 'encamped under a range of mountains,' the Vosegus (Vosges), which runs parallel to the Rhine. Ariovistus then marched past Caesar's camp and placed himself in his rear at the distance of two miles, with the view of stopping the supplies to be brought up (supportaretur) by the Aedu and Sequani. This shows that the two armies were east of the Vosges; for the object of the German king was to command the road in Caesar's rear, which led towards Besançon and the country west of the Vosges.

dies continuos quinque] 'five days in succession.' He afterwards says: 'his omnibus diebus,' on all, that is, during each of all these days.

singuli singulos] This word is generally used in the plural (c. 6): 'whom out of the whole army each horse-

man had chosen; ' each horseman chose his man of infantry, 'singuli singulos.'—' si quid erat durius, ' &c.: 'if there was any danger or difficulty (for the cavalry), the infantry hurried to their aid (concurrebant).—' si quo . . . recipiendum: ' 'if there was occasion to advance to any considerable distance (quo . . . longius) or to retreat quickly.' He has just said 'se equites recipiebant.' But in some forms of ' recipere' the 'se' is omitted as here, and in vii. 52, 'signo recipiendi dato.'—' horum exercitatione celeritas: ' 'their activity owing to exercise.' It is necessary in studying Latin to see how words are interposed. He says 'tanta erat horum celeritas,' 'so great was their activity; ' and he adds 'exercitatione,' 'from exercise,' 'that supporting themselves by the horses' manes, they kept up with their speed.' Caesar afterwards employed German cavalry and infantry of this kind himself (vii. 65).

49. Ubi eum castris se tenere Caesar intellexit, ne diutius commeatu prohiberetur, ultra eum locum, quo in loco Germani consederant, circiter passus sexcentos ab his castris idoneum locum de legit acie que triplici instructa ad eum locum venit. Primam et secundam aciem in armis esse, tertiam castra munire jussit. Hic locus ab hoste circiter passus sexcentos, uti dictum est, aberat. Eo circiter hominum [numero] sedecim milia expedita cum omni equitatu Ariovistus misit quae copiae nostros perterrerent et munitione prohiberent. Nihilo secius Caesar, ut ante constituerat, duas acies hostem propulsare, tertiam opus perficere jussit. Munitis castris duas ibi legiones reliquit et partem auxiliorum, quatuor reliquas in castra majora reduxit.

50. Proximo die instituto suo Caesar e castris utrisque copias suas eduxit paulumque a majoribus castris progressus aciem instruxit; hostibus pugnandi potestatem fecit. Ubi ne tum quidem eos prodire intellexit, circiter meridiem exercitum in castra reduxit. Tum demum

49. *ultra eum locum*] Caesar went back in the direction that he had come, and placing himself six hundred paces in rear of Ariovistus, made a camp large enough to hold two legions, above 8000 men, and part of the auxiliaries. Having made this camp, he led the other four legions back to the large camp. Thus the German king was between two Roman camps. Kraner says that the immediate repetition of the word 'locus' five times shows how Caesar sacrifices elegance to clearness. Elegance then does not allow the repetition of words, as he supposes. But this is not true. If a man does not clearly tell us his meaning, he does nothing; and if he has told us his meaning clearly and used no superfluous words, he has written with elegance, for elegance means a proper selection of words and a right placing of them. In such a narrative as Caesar's nothing is required except clearness and brevity; and no writer has ever surpassed him in these things.—'ab his castris': 'from the

camp of the Germans.'

castra munire] 'to make the camp,' by digging a ditch, throwing up the earth, and putting a 'vallum' on the 'agger.' He afterwards uses 'munitio,' 'the working at the camp,' and 'munitis castris,' 'when the camp was made.'—'quae copiae,' 'which force;' the relative agreeing with the noun which follows it. See c. 38.

50. *instituto suo*] 'according to his plan,' 'his practice,' c. 48. So he uses 'consuetudine sua.'—'e castris utrisque.' We must suppose that there was a communication between Caesar's two camps. He advanced only from the large camp, but he had with him some of the men from the small camp, which we do not suppose to have been left without defence. The attack on the small camp was made, as we assume, after Caesar's men were separated and retired to their several camps.—'solis occasu': 'at sunset.' It means immediately after sunset.

Ariovistus partem suarum copiarum quae castra minora oppugnaret misit. Acriter utrinque usque ad vesperum pugnatum est. Solis occasu suas copias Ariovistus multis et illatis et acceptis vulneribus in castra reduxit. Quum ex captivis quaereret Caesar quam ob rem Ariovistus proelio non decertaret, hanc reperiebat causam, quod apud Germanos ea consuetudo esset, ut matres familiae eorum sortibus et vaticinationibus declararent, utrum proelium committi ex usu esset necne: eas ita dicere; Non esse fas Germanos superare, si ante novam lunam proelio contendissent.

51. Postridie ejus diei Caesar praesidio utrisque castris quod satis esse visum est reliquit; omnes alarios in conspectu hostium pro castris minoribus constituit, quo minus multitudine militum legionariorum pro hostium numero valebat, ut ad speciem alariis uteretur; ipse tripli instructa acie usque ad castra hostium accessit. Tum

sortibus] These 'sortes,' as Tacitus says (Germ. 10), were short sticks made by cutting the shoots of a fruit-bearing tree. These sticks were distinguished by marks. They were thrown indiscriminately on a white cloth, and the priests, as here the wise women, took up the sticks and made their predictions from the marks on them. These women in the middle ages and nearer our own time would have been burnt as witches.

utrum—necne] 'whether it was safe or right (ex usu) to fight (proelium committi) or not (necne).' Another form of expression occurs in c. 53, 'utrum . . . an.' But here there is only one verb 'committi,' and 'ex usu' belongs both to the clause 'utrum' and to 'necne.' In the other there are two verbs, 'utrum necaretur' and 'an reservaretur.'

51. *praesidio*] The dative (c. 44), and it means 'to protect'; or, 'as a protection to each camp, he left a force which he judged sufficient.' 'Quod satis esse (ei) visum est' is equivalent to an accusative after 'reliquit.'—'omnes alarios': 'all the auxiliaries,'

whom elsewhere he calls 'cohortes aliariae.' He placed the auxiliaries in front of the smaller camp to make a show, not to fight, as he explains it.—'quo minus,' &c.: some editions have 'quod minus,' but perhaps 'quo,' the ablative, expresses better what Caesar means; 'by reason of his inferiority in force of legionary soldiers compared with the enemy's numbers.'—'pro hostium numero,' compare c. 2, notes.

tripli acie] See c. 24.—'generatim': 'they arranged their forces according to their tribes,' and 'paribus intervallis,' 'with equal distances between each tribe.' The wagons and carts were put on the rear and flanks with the women and children in them: 'eo mulieres imposuerunt.' See note on 'eo,' c. 42. The Tribocci were already settled in Gallia between the Vosges and the Rhine (iv. 10). The Vangiones and Nemetes were settled in the same country after Caesar's time, as we know (Tacit. German. c. 28); and they may have been settled there before. The head quarters of the German king were between the Vosges and the Rhine.

demum necessario Germani suas copias castris eduxerunt generatimque constituerunt, paribus intervallis Harudes, Marcomanos, Triboccos, Vangiones, Nemetes, Sedusios, Suevos, omnemque aciem suam rhedis et carris circumde- derunt, ne qua spes in fuga relinqueretur. Eo mulieres imposuerunt, quae in proelium proficiscentes passis mani- bus flentes implorabant ne se in servitutem Romanis tra- derent.

52. Caesar singulis legionibus singulos legatos et quaes- torem praefecit, uti eos testes suae quisque virtutis ha- beret; ipse a dextro cornu, quod eam partem minime firmam hostium esse animum adverterat, proelium com- misit. Ita nostri acriter in hostes signo dato impetum fecerunt, itaque hostes repente celeriterque procurrerunt ut spatium pila in hostes conjiciendi non daretur. Re- jectis pilis comminus gladiis pugnatum est: at Germani celeriter ex consuetudine sua phalange facta impetus gla-

52. *Caesar singulis*] 'Caesar placed a legatus over each legion and the quaestor.' A 'quaestor' had the care of the military chest and the payments, and he was not a military officer. Caesar does not say 'singulos quaestores' as he says 'singulos legatos'; and he may have had only one quaestor. If he had only one, he might set the quaestor to keep an eye on all the legions. Caesar could not see all that was going on, for he commanded his own right wing (a dextro cornu). Kraner ex- plains it thus: 'he placed five legions each under the command of a 'legatus,' and the sixth, which, on other occasions he commanded himself, he placed under the 'quaestor,' because he himself directed all.'—'quod eam partem': 'the part of the enemy op- posed to his right': the left wing of the enemy.

Ita — acriter — itaque — repente] This shows how the passage must be understood.—'spatium': 'room for throwing the pila,' which they threw away (rejectis pilis); and the battle was fought with the sword.

phalange facta] This military term means any close body of men.

The Germans received the onset of the Romans, by closing their ranks and locking their shields.—'reperti sunt complures nostri milites qui . . . insilirent' means no more than 'many of our soldiers leapt up on the phalanx and pulled away the shields, and wounded the Germans from above.' But the form 'sunt qui' with a subjunctive, is a way of speaking which excludes any partic- ular mention. We might say, 'many were found bold enough to leap up on.' These words 'complures nostri milites' are all put in the same case. Kraner compares 'compluribus nos- tris dejectis' (iv. 12); and 'tres suos nactus manipulares' (vii. 47). It is difficult to render the Latin with precision. The notion is this: 'our soldiers, who were bold and active enough to do this, were a good many.'

The Roman soldier was trained to great activity. He did not trust to his strength. He could run, swim, leap, and climb; he was as active as a cat. He was more than a match for a heavy fellow, who could only fight hand to hand.

diorum exceperunt. Reperti sunt complures nostri milites qui in phalangas insilirent et scuta manibus revellerent et desuper vulnerarent. Quum hostium acies a sinistro cornu pulsa atque in fugam conversa esset, a dextro cornu vehementer multitudine suorum nostram aciem premebant. Id quum animadvertisset P. Crassus adolescens, qui equitatu praeerat, quod expeditior erat quam hi qui inter aciem versabantur, tertiam aciem laborantibus nostris subsidio misit.

53. Ita proelium restitutum est, atque omnes hostes terga verterunt neque prius fugere destiterunt quam ad flumen Rhenum milia passuum ex eo loco circiter quinque pervenerunt. Ibi perpauci aut viribus confisi tranare contenderunt, aut litoribus inventis sibi salutem repperebant. In his fuit Ariovistus qui naviculam deligatam ad ripam nactus ea profugit: reliquos omnes equitatu consecuti nostri interfecerunt. Duae fuerunt Ariovisti uxores, una Sueva natione quam domo secum duxerat, altera Norica, regis Voctionis soror, quam in Gallia duxerat a fratre missam: utraeque in ea fuga perierunt.

a sinistro] The wing which Caesar had attacked with his right.—‘P. Crassus,’ the son of M. Licinius Crassus, who destroyed Spartacus’ army (c. 21). The term ‘adolescens’ distinguishes him from his father and his brother (v. 24). Crassus, commanding the cavalry, was more free to act than the men who were engaged in battle (qui inter aciem versabantur), and so he ordered the third line to advance to relieve (subsidio) the men who were hard pressed.

53. *quinque*] This is the MSS. reading; but many editors still print ‘quinquaginta,’ as if men could run fifty miles without stopping. The battle was fought five miles from the Rhine. If it had been fought fifty miles off, the Germans would have run to the hills or to the woods, as some of the Tigurini did (c. 12). If Caesar had not stated the distance, we should infer with certainty from the fact of the Germans running to the Rhine, that they were not far

from it when they began to run.—‘pervenerunt’: ‘till they reached;’ not ‘pervenirent’ or ‘pervenerint,’ as some editions and MSS. have.—‘reliquos omnes.’ Plutarch says eighty thousand, but we do not know what his authority was. The cavalry finished the work by killing all except the few who escaped. The slaughter must have been dreadful. All perished; women and children too, for these people lived in their wagons, and moved from place to place.

uxores] It was the German fashion for a man to have only one wife, except a very few, great personages, who strengthened themselves by matrimonial alliances.—‘utraeque . . . perierunt’: some MSS. have ‘utraque . . . periiit;’ and also ‘utraeque . . . perierunt.’—‘duae filiae’: he uses the plural, and then he tells us what the plural contained, ‘altera, altera,’ ‘one’ and ‘the second,’ or ‘the other.’

Duae filiae harum, altera occisa, altera capta est. C. Valerius Proculus, quum a custodibus in fuga trinis catenis vinctus traheretur, in ipsum Caesarem hostes equitatu persequentem incidit. Quae quidem res Caesar non minorem quam ipsa victoria voluptatem attulit, quod hominem honestissimum provinciae Galliae, suum familiarem et hospitem, eruptum e manibus hostium sibi restitutum videbat, neque ejus calamitate de tanta voluptate et gratulatione quidquam fortuna deminuerat. Is se praesente de se ter sortibus consultum dicebat, utrum igni statim necaretur an in aliud tempus reservaretur; sortium beneficio se esse incolumem. Item M. Mettius repertus et ad eum reductus est.

54. Hoc proelio trans Rhenum nuntiato, Suevi, qui ad ripas Rheni venerant, domum reverti cooperunt; quos ubi ii qui proximi Rhenum incolunt perterritos sense-runt, insecuri magnum ex his numerum occiderunt. Caesar una aestate duobus maximis bellis confectis maturius paulo quam tempus anni postulabat, in hiberna in Sequanos exercitum deduxit; hibernis Labienum praepo-

trinis catenis] 'a triple chain,' chains enough for three men. 'Catenae' is generally used in the plural. —'in ipsum Caesarem . . . incidit.' 'fell in Caesar's way.' We learn that the commander-in-chief joined in the cavalry pursuit.

neque ejus] A single 'neque' is sometimes used thus. If he had said 'atque ejus, &c., he must have placed a negative (*nihil*) in the place of 'quidquam'; but as the negation extends to the whole clause, it is well placed at the beginning, and no other word except 'neque' would connect this clause with the preceding.

de se . . . consultum] One of the impersonal forms, as they are called, and here it is in the infinitive. We have no form like it: we say "that they consulted the 'sortes' about him." 'Utrum . . . an:' see c. 50, note.—'sortium beneficio:' "that he was saved by the 'sortes' being

favourable" to him.

54. *quos ubi ii*] Some editions have 'quos Ubii qui,' &c., and omit 'sense-runt,' which means, 'whom the Ubii, who dwell nearest to the Rhine, pursued terror-struck and killed a great number of them.' The Ubii were a German people on the east side of the Rhine, and opposite to the Treviri, who were on the west side. The Ubii were often at war with the Suevi (iv. 3).

in hiberna in Sequanos] 'into winter quarters in the country of the Sequani,' as we say, but in Latin the two accusatives are used. His winter quarters were between the Vosges and the Saône; but this is all that he tells us. Vesontio was perhaps the place, a strong position, and well supplied. He wintered, however, in Celtica, beyond the limits of the Provincia. His design to conquer all Gallia was now clear, as the next book shows.

suit; ipse in citeriorem Galliam ad conventus agendos profectus est.

[*in citeriorem*] Gallia south of the Alps, which Caesar sometimes calls Italia. He does not say by what pass he crossed the mountains. It is his fashion to say nothing that does not relate to his military operations. He went to hold his circuits (ad conventus agendos). A 'conventus' or meeting, which is an assemblage of people for any purpose, means also a division of a province, at the head town of which division the inhabitants used to meet

(conveniebant) for the trial of their suits and the doing of other business which required the presence of the governor or of his deputy. These 'conventus' were sometimes called 'conventus juridici.' This active man crossed the Alps into Italy after the campaign to attend to the administration of the province of Gallia Cisalpina during the winter; and, as it is supposed, to be nearer to Rome and know what was doing there.

LIBER SECUNDUS.

ARGUMENT.

CHAP. 1. The Belgae combine their forces against Caesar. 2, 3. The Remi surrender to him. 4. The amount of the forces of the Belgae. 5—7. Caesar marches to the river Axona; the Belgae attack Bibrax, a town of the Remi, but abandon the assault upon Caesar relieving the place. 8. Caesar's camp. 9—11. The Belgae, after failing in an attack on the position of Q. Titurius, and hearing of the march of the Aedui against the Bellovacii, disperse to their several homes. 12—14. The Suessiones and Bellovacii submit to Caesar. 15. The Ambiani submit to him. 16—28. The war with the Nervii, who are nearly annihilated; the surrender of the survivors. 29—33. The war with the Aduatuci, who were descendants of the Cimbri and Teutoni; the surrender of their strong-hold; the Aduatuci attempt to surprise the Romans after their surrender; all the survivors are sold for slaves. 34. P. Crassus reduces the Veneti, Unelli, and other maritime states. 35. The Transrheneane nations send to proffer their submission to Caesar; the winter quarters in Gallia; a 'supplicatio' at Rome for Caesar's victories.

The events in this book belong to A.U.C. 697, or B.C. 57; and the consulship of P. Cornelius Lentulus and Q. Caecilius Metellus.

QUUM esset Caesar in citeriore Gallia in hibernis, ita uti supra demonstravimus, crebri ad eum rumores afferebantur, litterisque item Labieni certior fiebat omnes Belgas, quam tertiam esse Galliae partem dixeramus, contra populum Romanum conjurare obsidesque inter se dare: conjurandi has esse causas: primum, quod verebantur ne omni pacata Gallia ad eos exercitus noster adduceretur; deinde, quod ab nonnullis Gallis sollicitarentur, partim qui, ut Germanos diutius in Gallia versari

1. *Quum esset Caesar*] 'Caesar being in Citerior Gallia in winter quarters,' &c. The way in which he begins this book and others shows that the author made this division of his work.—'quam tertiam . . . partem': 'quam' refers to 'tertiam partem.' See i. c. 38.—'conjurare': 'combine,' and strengthen their union by oaths or treaties.

pacata Gallia] 'when all Celtica was reduced to submission.'—'ad eos': if he had said 'ad se,' the 'se' could only refer to the Belgae; but 'ad eos' makes it still plainer.

partim] The accusative of 'pars' was used as an adverb without any regard to its case. He says 'a nonnullis Gallis,' 'by some Galli'; and he adds 'one part of whom' (partim

noluerant, ita populi Romani exercitum hiemare atque inveterascere in Gallia moleste ferebant, partim qui mobilitate et levitate animi novis imperiis studebant; ab nonnullis etiam, quod in Gallia a potentioribus atque his, qui ad conducendos homines facultates habebant, vulgo regna occupabantur, qui minus facile eam rem imperio nostro consequi poterant.

2. His nuntiis litterisque commotus Caesar duas legiones in citeriore Gallia novas conscripsit, et inita aestate in interiorem Galliam qui deduceret Q. Pedium legatum misit. Ipse quum primum pabuli copia esse inciperet ad exercitum venit; dat negotium Senonibus reliquisque Gallis, qui finitimi Belgis erant, uti ea quae apud eos gerantur cognoscant seque de his rebus certiore faciant. Hi constanter omnes nuntiaverunt manus cogi, exercitum in unum locum conduci. Tum vero dubitandum non

qui), and again 'partim qui,' 'another part of whom.'—'inveterascere,' 'to get used to Gallia.'—'novis imperiis studebant,' 'were eager for a change of power.'—'ab nonnullis etiam' : by adding 'etiam' he makes a new division of persona. First he says 'ab nonnullis Gallis sollicitarentur,' 'by some Galli;' and then 'ab nonnullis etiam,' 'by others also.' Caesar represents the rich Galli as in the habit of hiring men and often (vulgo) seizing on royal power (regna). This was a common thing in Gallia.—'imperio nostro.' 'under our dominion' : if the Roman dominion was established in Celtica. The Galli saw that though they had got rid of Ariovistus, they had now another master. Caesar's troops wintered among the Sequani and fed on them.

2. *duas legiones*] This made his whole force amount to eight legions.—'inita aestate,' &c. : 'he sent Q. Pedius to conduct them into central Gallia (Celtica), when the fine weather had begun.' Q. Pedius was his nephew, as it seems; some say, his great-nephew. He was not to lead them till the 'aestas' began.

quum primum] 'as soon as.'—'dat

negotium Senonibus . . . uti . . . cognoscant:' 'he commissions, he employs the Senones to find out and to inform him about these things.' The reader may now read the sentence with the clause 'ea quae apud nos gerantur,' the whole of which stands as the object of, that is, the accusative case after 'cognoscant.'

The Senones lived in the valley of the Icauna (Yonne), a branch of the Seine. Their chief town was Agedincum (Sens) on the Yonne.—'seque' : if Caesar had said 'eum' it would perhaps have been more correct.

dubitandum—quin] 'that he ought not to hesitate about advancing,' this is a mental resolution. See c. 23, where 'dubitare' is followed by an infinitive.—'re frumentaria' : 'after providing his supplies,' the first and most important duty of a general, which Caesar never neglected. His troops never seem to have suffered from deficient supplies. He does not say where he marched from; but it was from the country of the Sequani, between the Vosges and the Saône, and probably from Besançon. The direct distance from Besançon to Châlons sur Marne is

existimavit quin ad eos proficiaseretur. Re frumentaria provisa castra movet diebusque circiter xv ad fines Belgarum pervenit.

3. Eo quum de improviso celeriusque omni opinione venisset, Remi, qui proximi Galliae ex Belgis sunt, ad eum legatos Iccium et Andocumborum primos civitatis suae miserunt [qui dicerent] Se suaque omnia in fidem atque in potestatem populi Romani permittere; neque se cum reliquis Belgis consensisse neque contra populum Romanum omnino conjurasse, paratosque esse et obsides dare et imperata facere et oppidis recipere et frumento ceterisque rebus juvare; reliquos omnes Belgas in armis esse, Germanosque qui cis Rhenum incolant sese cum his conjunxisse, tantumque esse eorum omnium furorem ut ne Suessiones quidem, fratres consanguineosque suos, qui eodem jure et iisdem legibus utantur, unum imperium unumque magistratum cum ipsis habeant, deterrire potuerint quin cum his consentirent.

4. Quum ab his quaereret quae civitates quantaeque in armis essent et quid in bello possent, sic reperiebat: ple-

about 140 miles. The Marne is one of the boundaries of Belgica and Celtica (i. 1); but Caesar might reach the Marne at a point nearer to Besançon than Châlons is.

3. *de improviso*] A preposition joined to an ablative participle. It is like 'de tertia vigilia.' The French can say 'à l'improviste.' The Remi were the first Belgic nation north of the Matrona (Marne). Their chief town was Durocortorum (Reims), on the Vèle, a branch of the Aisne.

in fidem—permittere] 'they entrusted themselves and all they had to the good faith and authority of the Roman people.'—'imperata facere': 'to do what he required.'—'recipere': 'to receive' Caesar, which is so plain that he does not add 'eum.' They were ready to do any thing. All through the Gallic war these Remi played a cunning, cowardly part, and they were rewarded for their services by Caesar, who placed

the Suessiones in a state of dependence on them (viii. 6). The Suessiones continued hostile to the Romans to the last, and they sent a force with the other Galli to attack Caesar before Alesia, B.C. 52 (vii. 75). These Remi, though reckoned among the Belgae by Caesar, did not affect to be of German stock, as most of the Belgae did.

ut ne Suessiones quidem—deterrire potuerint quin] This is the simple construction. All the rest is a description of the Suessiones, who were the neighbours of the Remi on the west, and had the country between the Marne and the Oise. Their name exists in the name of Soissons, a town on the Aisne.

eodem jure &c.] All this is Roman language, and it may not express very accurately what the Remi said. The translation is, 'though they had the same political constitution and the same laws.'

4. *quid in bello possent*] 'what they

rosque Belgas esse ortos ab Germanis Rhenumque antiquus transductos propter loci fertilitatem ibi conseruisse, Gallosque qui ea loca incolerent expulisse, solosque esse qui patrum nostrorum memoria omni Gallia vexata Teutonos Cimbrosque intra fines suos ingredi prohibuerint; qua ex re fieri uti earum rerum memoria magnam sibi auctoritatem magnosque spiritus in re militari sumerent. De numero eorum omnia se habere explorata Remi dicebant, propterea quod propinquitatibus affinitatibusque conjuncti quantam quisque multititudinem in communi Belgarum concilio ad id bellum pollicitus sit cognoverint. Plurimum inter eos Bellovacos et virtute et auctoritate et hominum numero valere; hos posse confidere armata milia centum, pollicitos ex eo numero electa sexaginta, totiusque belli imperium sibi postulare. Suessiones suos esse finitimos; fines latissimos feracissimosque agros possidere. Apud eos fuisse regem nostra etiam memoria Divitiacum, totius Galliae potentissimum, qui quum magnae partis harum regionum, tum etiam Britanniae im-

could do in war; or 'their military force.'—'ibi' has nothing to refer to except 'Rhenum transductos,' which implies 'to the Gallie side'; and the same remark applies to 'ea loca.'—'patrum . . . memoria': 'within the remembrance of our fathers,' of the generation preceding Caesar's. These Teutoni and Cimbro entered Gallia about B.C. 110, somewhat more than half a century before Caesar's invasion of Belgium. They extended their ravages over all Gallia (omnis Gallia), the Provincia and Aquitania included (i. 1). We here learn that these Belgian Germans crossed the Rhine before the invasion of the Teutoni and Cimbro.

Kraener remarks that Caesar never uses 'prohibere' with 'quo minus' and the subjunctive, but with the infinitive or an accusative and the infinitive.—'qua ex re fieri uti': see i. 2, 'his rebus fiebat ut.'—'magnos spiritus': see i. 33.

habere explorata] 'had ascertained well.'—'propinquitatibus': 'by kinship and by affinity,' that is, the

relationship that arises from a marriage.—'quisque' must mean each nation, though he writes as if it were each representative in the meeting of the Belgian States.

Bellovacos—auctoritate] 'in opinion or authority.'—'confidere': 'make up the number of a hundred thousand fighting men.' The Bellovacis were neighbours of the Suessiones, and had the country west of the Oise, a branch of the Seine. The Suessiones were between the Bellovacis and the Remi. The chief town of the Bellovacis, afterwards called Caesaromagus, is Beauvais, a name corrupted from Bellovacis, for the names of many French towns are the names of the ancient peoples. Soissons is an example (c. 3).

Britannus] This is the first time that Britannia is mentioned by a Roman writer. Here we are told that within the time of Caesar, which we may explain to mean at some time within the first century before the Christian era, a Belgian king had power in Britain.

perium obtinuerit: nunc esse regem Galbam: ad hunc propter justitiam prudentiamque suam totius belli sum-
mam omnium voluntate deferri; oppida habere numero
xii, polliceri milia armata quinquaginta; totidem Ner-
vios, qui maxime feri inter ipsos habeantur longissimeque
absint; xv milia Atrebates, Ambianos x milia, Morinos
xxv milia, Menapios vii milia, Caletos x milia, Velocasses
et Veromanduos totidem, Aduatucos xix milia; Con-
drusos, Eburones, Caeroesos, Paemanos, qui uno nomine
Germani appellantur, arbitrari ad xl milia.

5. Caesar Remos cohortatus liberaliterque oratione prosecutus omnem senatum ad se convenire principumque liberos obsides ad se adduci jussit. Quae omnia ab his diligenter ad diem facta sunt. Ipse Divitiacum Aeduum magno opere cohortatus docet quanto opere rei publicae communisque salutis intersit manus hostium

deferrit] 'the supreme command in the whole campaign (totius belli summam) was conferred on him.' 'Deferre' is used in this sense.—'Nervios . . . absint': 'are farthest off,' which should mean from the Remi; but it is only part of the territory of the Nervii that could be so described, the part which is south of the estuary of the Schelde.

Atrebates] North of the Bellovacii, between the Somme and the Schelde. The town of Arras is within their limits.—The Ambiani were on the Somme, and they extended to the sea. Amiens is in their country.—Morini, the 'men of the coast,' extended from Boulogne northwards towards Dunkerque.—Menapii, see iii. 28.—The Caleti were on the north side of the Seine and along the coast, in the tract formerly called Pays de Caux.—Velocasses were east of the Caleti, and they extended along the Seine as far as the Oise. Their capital was Rotomagus (Rouen). The Veromandui were north of the Suessiones, and had on the west the Atrebates and the Ambiani. Their capital, afterwards called Augusta Veromanduorum, is St. Quentin on the Somme.

He says that the Velocasses and the Veromandui promised 'totidem,' or 10,000. Perhaps he means 10,000 men each.

Aduatucos] They were on the lower Maas (ii. 29). The Condrus and others are here included under the name of Germani. All of them were on the Maas, or between the Maas and the Rhine.

arbitrari ad] 'they ('se,' the Remi) supposed the Germans to amount to 40,000.' This is a conjecture. 'Qui . . . appellantur' is a remark by Caesar, not the words of the Remi; for if it were, 'appellantur' would be the subjunctive.

5. *liberaliter—prosecutus*] Caesar encouraged the Remi and followed it up by expressions of friendship. The primary meaning of 'prosequi' appears in c. 11, 'prosecuti.' These nations had a body of nobles who possessed the political power. Caesar gives to it the Roman name 'senatus.'—'diligenter ad diem': 'punctually to the day.'

rei publicae—intersit] The most probable explanation of this construction is that there is an omission of 'rem,' or an accusative after 'intersit,' and accordingly it means

distineri, ne cum tanta multitudine uno tempore confi-
gendum sit. Id fieri posse si suas copias Aedui in fines
Bellovacorum introduxerint et eorum agros populari coe-
perint. His mandatis eum ab se dimittit. Postquam
omnes Belgarum copias in unum locum coactas ad se
venire vidit, neque jam longe abesse ab his quos miserat
exploratoribus et ab Remis cognovit, flumen Axonam,
quod est in extremis Remorum finibus, exercitum trans-
ducere maturavit atque ibi castra posuit. Quae res et-
latus unum castrorum ripis fluminis muniebat et post
eum quae essent tuta ab hostibus reddebat, et commeatus
ab Remis reliquisque civitatibus ut sine periculo ad eum
portari possent efficiebat. In eo flumine pons erat. Ibi
praesidium ponit et in altera parte fluminis Q. Titurium
Sabinum legatum cum sex cohortibus relinquit. Castra in
altitudinem pedum **xii** vallo fossaque duodeviginti
pedum munire jubet.

6. Ab his castris oppidum Remorum nomine Bibrax
aberat milia passuum **viii**. Id ex itinere magno impetu
Belgae oppugnare coeperunt. Aegre eo die sustentatum
est. Gallorum eadem atque Belgarum oppugnatio est

that 'it is among the things (inter-
sit) which concern the State and the
common interest, for the forces of
the enemies to be kept from uniting'
(distineri). He means by 'com-
munis salus' the interests of the
Romans and the Aedui.

ab his—exploratoribus] It is the
Roman fashion to place 'quos mis-
erat' between the pronoun (his) and
the noun. He heard from the scouts
and from the Remi that the enemy
was not far off. Accordingly he
crossed the Axona (Aisne), which
was near the boundary of the Remi.

Quae res] This is Caesar's way
of referring to facts mentioned, not
to the particular words. 'This cir-
cumstance,' his crossing the river
and fixing his camp there (ibi), that
is, on the other bank, gave security
(muniebat) to one side of his camp
by the river banks.—'muniebat':
see i. 38, note on 'muniebatur'.—
'post cum quae essent': 'all his

rear.' The indicative would mean
the parts which were in his rear, as
if he were describing them particu-
larly.

in altera parte] On the south side,
not on the side where his camp was.
The 'vallum' was twelve feet high,
reckoned probably from the bottom
of the ditch (fossa), which was
eighteen feet wide (i. 8). The 'val-
lum' is the 'agger' with the palisades
on it. The Roman camp had
four sides. One of the sides was pro-
tected by the river, a position which
the Gauls often chose for their
camps. Caesar thus secured water,
and a communication both above and
below his camp. He is always looking
after the supplies (i. 37, end).

6. *Bibrax*] A place north of the
Axona, and eight miles from it, sup-
posed to be Bièvre.—'ex itinere':
see i. 25.—'totis moenibus': the
ablative, 'all along or around the
walls.'

haec. Ubi circumjecta multitudine hominum totis moenibus undique in murum lapides jaci coepti sunt, murusque defensoribus nudatus est, testudine facta portas succedunt murumque subruunt. Quod tum facile fiebat. Nam quum tanta multitudo lapides ac tela conjicerent, in muro consistendi potestas erat nulli. Quum finem oppugnandi nox fecisset, Iccius Remus, summa nobilitate et gratia inter suos, qui tum oppido praefuerat, unus ex his qui legati de pace ad Caesarem venerant, nuntium ad eum mittit; Nisi subsidium sibi submittatur, sese diutius sustinere non posse.

7. *Eo de media nocte Caesar iisdem ducibus usus qui nuntii ab Iccio venerant, Numidas et Cretas sagittarios et funditores Baleares subsidio oppidanis mittit; quorum adventu et Remis cum spe defensionis studium propugnandi accessit, et hostibus eadem de causa spes potiundi oppidi discessit.* Itaque paulisper apud oppidum morati agrosque Remorum depopulati omnibus vicis aedificiisque quos adire potuerant incensis, ad castra Caesaris omnibus copiis contendenterunt et ab milibus passuum minus II castra posuerunt; quae castra, ut fumo atque ignibus significabatur, amplius milibus passuum VIII in latitudinem patebant.

testudine facta] 'they form a testudo, a tortoise.' The men held their shields over their heads close together to protect themselves from missiles. It is described by Livy, 34, c. 39.—'succedunt,' &c.: 'they come up under the gates, and begin to undermine the wall (subruunt).' But 'portas' seems unnecessary.—'nulli': it is Caesar's fashion to place 'nulli' and 'nemini' at the end of a sentence, to make it more emphatic (c. 35, 'accidit nulli').

Nisi—submittatur] 'If relief was not sent to him' (submittatur); sent up to him.—'sustinere' is used without a noun (hostes) after it.

7. *Eo de media nocte—mittit*] 'Thither as soon as it was midnight Caesar sends.' 'Eo,' to Bibrax. He had in his army Numidians and Cretan archers, and slingers from the Balearic islands, Majorca and

Minorca. These were the auxiliaries attached to the legions, and Caesar must have found them ready in the Provincia or in Gallia Cisalpina, or in both countries.

quos adire potuerant] Placed between 'aedificiisque' and 'incensis,' according to Roman usage. 'Quos' refers to 'vicis,' and not to 'aedificis,' of which usage there are other examples.—'ab milibus,' &c.: 'at the distance of two miles, or somewhat less.' Compare 'ab' in i. 1. 'Minus' is used as an adverb, like 'amplius' and 'circiter.' — 'quae castra': 'and the camp.' See i. 6, note on 'itinera duo.' Caesar saw the smoke and flame of the Belgian camp fires extending along a front of more than eight miles, and round these fires there were above two hundred thousand men in arms.

8. Caesar primo et propter multitudinem hostium et propter eximiam opinionem virtutis proelio supersedere statuit; quotidie tamen equestribus proeliis quid hostis virtute posset et quid nostri auderent periclitabatur. Ubi nostros non esse inferiores intellexit, loco pro castris ad aciem instruendam natura opportuno atque idoneo, quod is collis, ubi castra posita erant, paululum ex planicie editus tantum adversus in latitudinem patebat quantum loci acies instructa occupare poterat, atque ex utraque parte lateris dejectus habebat, et in fronte leniter fastigatus paulatim ad planitatem redibat, ab utroque latere ejus collis transversam fossam obduxit circiter passuum CD et ad extremas fossas castella constituit ibique tormenta collocavit, ne, quum aciem instruxisset, hostes, quod tantum multitudine poterant, a lateribus pugnantes suos circumvenire possent. Hoc facto duabus legionibus

8. *propter—virtutis*] 'and because of their high reputation for courage.' Reputation is the 'opinio' of others: he does not say whose 'opinio,' nor is it necessary. All who knew them had a high opinion of their courage, and Caesar was wise enough to follow this opinion.—'proelio supersedere': 'to defer fighting.' 'Proelio' is the ablative.

loco—idoneo] 'the ground in front of the camp being naturally suitable and convenient for putting his troops in order of battle.' This is a kind of ablative absolute, like 'se-cundiore . . . proelio,' c. 9.

is collis &c.] The hill was level at the top. On both sides it was steep (dejectus habebat). There was a gentle ascent to it from the plain (leniter fastigatus). He made a 'fossa' on each side of the hill to cover them (obduxit), and placed towers at the ends, to prevent the enemy from attacking his men in flank during the fight.

The sentence is long, but it is not obscure: 'because the hill on which his camp was placed, rising a little (editus) from the plain, on the side turned to the enemy (adversus) ex-

tended in width as much as Caesar's order of battle (acies instructa) could occupy, and on both sides had a rapid descent (dejectus), and in front gently sloping (fastigatus) gradually returned to the level.' After this description of the hill he begins again: 'on each side of the hill he made a ditch in a transverse direction, about six hundred paces long; and at the ends of the ditches he made towers, and there placed his military engines (tormenta), that the enemy, after he had formed his order of battle, as they had such advantage in numbers, might not be able to outflank (a lateribus circumvenire) his troops during the fight.'

'In fronte' expresses the same as 'in latitudinem.' 'Tormenta' are engines for throwing javelins, stones, and lighted torches.

duabus legionibus] He placed the newly-raised troops in the rear, as he did when he fought the Helvetii (i. 24).—'si quo opus esset': 'if they should be wanted anywhere,' 'quo' expressing the direction in which they might have to move, if they were wanted. See i. 48, note on 'si quo.'

quas proxime conscripserat in castris relictis ut, si quo opus esset, subsidio duci possent, reliquas sex legiones pro castris in acie constituit. Hostes item suas copias ex castris eductas instruxerant.

9. Palus erat non magna inter nostrum atque hostium exercitum. Hanc si nostri transirent hostes exspectabant; nostri autem, si ab illis initium transeundi fieret, ut impeditos aggrederentur parati in armis erant. Interim proelio equestri inter duas acies contendebatur. Ubi neutri transeundi initium faciunt, secundiore equitum proelio nostris Caesar suos in castra reduxit. Hostes protinus ex eo loco ad flumen Axonam contenderunt, quod esse post nostra castra demonstratum est. Ibi vadis repertis partem suarum copiarum transducere conati sunt, eo consilio ut, si possent, castellum cui praeerat Q. Titurius legatus expugnarent pontemque interscinderent: si minus potuissent, agros Remorum populararentur, qui magno nobis usui ad bellum gerendum erant, commeatuque nostros prohiberent.

10. Caesar certior factus ab Titurio omnem equitatum et levis armaturae Numidas, funditores sagittariosque pontem transducit atque ad eos contendit. A criter in eo loco pugnatum est. Hostes impeditos nostri in flumine aggressi magnum eorum numerum occiderunt: per eorum corpora reliquos audacissime transire conantes multitudine telorum reppulerunt; primos qui transierant equi-

eductas instruxerant] Roman brevity. We say 'drew out their troops, and put them in order of battle.' So in c. 10, 'circumventos . . . interfecerunt'; and i. 47, 'Conantes,' &c.

9. *Hanc — exspectabant*] 'Were waiting to see if our men would attempt to cross it.' 'Exspectabant' must be connected with 'si . . . transirent.' In the next clause the notion of 'exspectabant' is contained in 'in armis erant'; 'but our men, if the enemy should be the first to cross the marsh, were ready to fall on them when they were fast in the marsh.' — 'secundiore . . . proelio': see c. 8, note on 'idoneo, *castellum*'] Where Titurius was

with six 'cohorts.' The 'castellum' is not mentioned in c. 5.—'si possent . . . si minus potuissent': 'with the intention of taking the castellum if they could . . . if they should not be able.' The tense 'potuissent' expresses the fact of the attempt having been made. Our language is inexact in tenses. Compare 'introduxissent' and 'convenirent' in c. 10.

10. *levis armaturae*] Light infantry, active men, such as the Zouaves of the French army. Caesar went himself (contendit).—'hostes impeditos . . . magnum eorum': compare i. 12, 'eos impeditos . . . magnam partem eorum.'

tatu circumventos interficerunt. Hostes, ubi et de expugnando oppido et de flumine transeundo spem se fefellisse intellexerunt neque nostros in locum iniquiorem progreendi pugnandi causa viderunt, atque ipsos res frumentaria deficere coepit, concilio convocato constituerunt optimum esse domum suam quemque reverti, et quorum in fines primum Romani exercitum introduxissent, ad eos defendendos undique convenienter, ut potius in suis quam in alienis finibus decertarent et domesticis copiis rei frumentariae uterentur. Ad eam sententiam cum reliquis causis haec quoque ratio eos deduxit, quod Divitiacum atque Aeduos finibus Bellovacorum adpropinquare cognoverant: his persuaderi ut diutius morarentur neque suis auxilium ferrent non poterat.

11. Ea re constituta secunda vigilia magno cum strepitu ac tumultu castris egressi nullo certo ordine nequo imperio, quum sibi quisque primum itineris locum peteret et domum pervenire properaret, fecerunt ut consimilis fugae profectio videretur. Hac re statim Caesar per

Hostes—concilio convocato consti-
tuerunt] As usual he puts between the nominative and the verb several clauses, which explain why the Belgae determined 'that it was best to retire (optimum . . . reverti), and that they should rally (convenirent) from all parts to defend those whose territories the Romans should invade first.' 'Constituerunt' is used first with an infinitive 'optimum esse,' and then with a subjunctive 'convenirent,' where we must supply 'ut.' In the Latin language, as usual, the relative clause 'quorum in fines' comes first, but we cannot keep this order in English in this passage.

Want of supplies was one cause of the separation of the Belgian army; and another was the diversion made by Divitiacus invading the country of the Bellovaci. Caesar was in a position to wait, for he commanded the Aisne and the country in his rear. It was one of his military maxims to treat an enemy as a doctor treats a disease, to cut off the

supplies.

domesticis copiis rei frumentariae]
 Comp. 'fraternum nomen populi Romanii,' i. 36.

his persuaderi—nos poterat 'they could not be persuaded.' This is the form used with such verbs as 'persuaderi,' 'resisti,' which have a dative in the active. 'Ut . . . neque' 'to stay, and not to go to help their own people;' as in i. 35, 'ut in colloquium . . . neque de communi.'

11. *secunda vigilia*] 'during the second watch.' He does not say 'de secunda,' which would mean as soon as the second watch began (i. 12).—'primum itineris locum,' means simply 'that every man tried to be first to set out; every man tried to get the first place on the road home; and consequently all was in confusion.—'fecerunt ut:' this should be compared with 'fiebat ut,' i. 2. 'They made their departure look quite like (consimilis) a flight.'

Hac re statim &c.] 'Upon thi-

speculatores cognita insidias veritus, quod qua de causa discederent nondum perspexerat, exercitum equitatumque castris continuit. Prima luce confirmata re ab exploratoribus omnem equitatum qui novissimum agmen moraretur praemisit. His Q. Pedium et L. Aurunculeium Cottam legatos praefecit. T. Labienum legatum cum legionibus tribus subsequi jussit. Hi novissimos adorti et multa milia passuum prosecuti magnam multitudinem eorum fugientium conciderunt, quum ab extremo agmine ad quos ventum erat consistenter fortiterque impetum nostrorum militum sustinerent, priores, quod abesse a periculo viderentur neque ulla necessitate neque imperio continerentur, exaudito clamore perturbatis ordinibus omnes in fuga sibi praesidium ponerent. Ita sine ullo periculo tantam eorum multitudinem nostri interfecerunt quantum fuit diei spatium, sub occasumque solis destiterunt, seque in castra, ut erat imperatum, receperunt.

12. Postridie ejus diei Caesar, priusquam se hostes ex

immediately Caesar, the fact being communicated to him by the scouts. The position of the word 'Caesar' between 'hac re' and 'cognita' is worth notice. In c. 12, the nominative 'Caesar' has a similar position in the sentence, and the verb 'duxit' is separated from it by many words. The man writes as he acted.—'prima luce' i. 22.—'qui . . . moraretur'—'to check the march of the enemy's rear,' in order that the legions might have time to come up with them and kill them.—'his,' that is, 'equitibus' which is suggested by 'omnem equitatum.'

Hi novissimos] 'Hi' seems to mean both the cavalry and the soldiers of the three legions.—'quum ab extremo . . . ad quos': 'since at the very extremity of the rear those (ii), whom the Romans came up with (ad quos ventum erat) made a stand.—'priores': 'those in front,' who are contrasted with those 'ab extremo agmine.' He disregards the grammatical propriety of writing 'postiores' instead of 'ab extremo

agmine.' It seems that he means to say, that the three legions came up with the rear of the enemy, which made a bold stand, but, we must suppose, were destroyed. Those in front ran in disorder, and the Romans killed a great number 'eorum fugientium.' The sentence from 'quum ab extremo' to the end explains the first part.—'exaudito clamore perturbatis': 'as the shouts reached them, their ranks falling into confusion, they all placed their hope of safety in flight.' These must be the 'eorum fugientium,' for we are not told that the rear ran, nor had the rear the opportunity of running. Here we have two ablatives absolute, and the order in which they are placed shows which two ideas are to be connected as cause and effect.

quantum] This word agrees with 'spatium,' as 'qui' often agrees with the noun which follows it. The Romans killed them all day long, to sun-set. See c. 33, note on 'sub vesperum.'

terrore ac fuga reciperen, in fines Suessionum, qui proximi Remis erant, exercitum duxit et magno itinere confecto ad oppidum Noviodunum contendit. Id ex itinere oppugnare conatus, quod vacuum ab defensoribus esse audiebat, propter latitudinem fossae murique altitudinem paucis defendantibus expugnare non potuit. Castris munitis vineas agere quaeque ad oppugnandum usui erant comparare coepit. Interim omnis ex fuga Suessionum multitudo in oppidum proxima nocte convenit. Celeriter vineis ad oppidum actis, aggere jacto turribusque constitutis, magnitudine operum, quae neque viderant ante Galli neque audierant, et celeritate Romanorum permoti legatos ad Caesarem de ditione mittunt, et potentibus Remis ut conservarentur impetrant.

13. Caesar obsidibus acceptis, primis civitatis atque ipsius Galbae regis duobus filiis, armisque omnibus ex oppido traditis, in ditionem Suessiones accepit exercitumque in Bellovacos dicit. Qui quum se suaque omnia in oppidum Bratuspantium contulissent, atque ab eo oppido Caesar cum exercitu circiter milia passuum quinque abesset, omnes majores natu ex oppido egressi manus

12. *ad oppidum—contendit*] This means literally, 'he advanced towards Noviodunum,' and he reached it. Whether the forced march (magnum iter) was all the way to Noviodunum, or only to the commencement of the territory of the Suessiones, is doubtful. Some geographers suppose that Noviodunum is the town afterwards called Augusta Suessionum (Soissons), on the Aisne.—'ex itinere' : see i. 25.—'paucis defendantibus' : 'though there were few to defend it.'

Castris munitis] 'After making the intrenchments for the camp,' the first thing that the Romans did when they were going to pass the night in a place (i. 49, note).

vineas agere] A 'vinea' was a covered framework of wood, which was moved towards the wall of a besieged city on wheels or on rollers; and it was used to protect the besiegers who worked under it, and

sapped the walls. 'Vineas agere' means to bring up the 'vineae' to the walls.—'omnis ex fuga . . . multitudo' : 'all the fugitive Suessiones'; 'ex fuga' serves two purposes. It shows that the fugitives entered the city, and they entered 'ex fuga,' which may be compared with 'ex itinere.' — 'aggere jacto' : 'earth being thrown' into the ditch to fill it up. When this was done, wooden towers (*turres*), which had several stories, were planted to enable the assailants to get on the walls.

potentibus Remis] The 'ut' may depend either on 'potentibus' or on 'impetrant,' or perhaps on both.

13. *Bratuspantium*] It is not certain what is the site of this place. Some would fix it near Breteuil, which is N.N.E. of Beauvais.—'in ejus fidem,' &c. : 'they put themselves under his protection, and in his power.'

ad Caesarem tendere et voce significare coeperunt sese in ejus fidem ac potestatem venire neque contra populum Romanum armis contendere. Item, quum ad oppidum accessisset castraque ibi poneret, pueri mulieresque ex muro passis manibus suo more pacem ab Romanis petierunt.

14. Pro his Divitiacus, nam post discessum Belgarum dimissis Aeduorum copiis ad eum reverterat, facit verba: *Bellovacos omni tempore in fide atque amicitia civitatis Aeduorum fuisse: impulsos ab suis principibus qui dicerent Aeduos a Caesare in servitutem redactos omnes indignitates contumeliasque perferre, et ab Aeduis defecisse et populo Romano bellum intulisse.* Qui ejus consilii principes fuissent, quod intelligerent quantum calamitatem civitati intulissent, in Britanniam profugisse. Petere non solum Bellovacos sed etiam pro his Aeduos ut sua clementia ac mansuetudine in eos utatur. Quod si fecerit, Aeduorum auctoritatem apud omnes Belgas amplificaturum; quorum auxiliis atque opibus, si qua bella inciderint, sustentare consuerint.

15. Caesar honoris Divitiaci atque Aeduorum causa sese eos in fidem recepturum et conservaturum dixit; quod erat civitas magna inter Belgas auctoritate atque hominum multitudine praestabat, DC obsidee poposcit. His traditis omnibusque armis ex oppido collatis, ab eo loco in fines Ambianorum pervenit, qui se suaque omnia sine mora dediderunt. Eorum fines Nervii attingebant; quorum de natura moribusque Caesar quum quaereret,

14. *dimissis — copiis*] 'after the retreat of the Belgae, and the troops of the Aedui had been sent home.' They were no longer wanted, and we may assume that they had no supplies.

in fide] This means some political dependence; Caesar uses 'fides' in this sense several times (c. 15). Divitiacus says, 'ab Aeduis defecisse,' which means a renunciation of their state of dependence, whatever it was. — 'quod intelligerent.' we can translate this by the participle, 'seeing' or 'knowing.' The men ran away

to Britain, as men now run away from France to England, when France is too hot to stay in.—'sua clementia:' 'his usual clemency.' (Kraner.) 'Sua' being emphatic comes before the noun.

quorum auxiliis] 'quorum,' of course, refers to 'Belgas.' The Aedui say that they were accustomed to maintain their wars (sustentare bella) with the help of the Belgae.

15. *honoris — causa*] This is a common Latin expression. It may be translated several ways: 'in consideration of, out of regard to.'

sic reperiebat: Nullum aditum esse ad eos mercatoribus: nihil pati vini reliquarumque rerum ad luxuriam pertinentium inferri, quod iis rebus relanguescere animos eorum et remitti virtutem existimarent. Esse homines feros magnaenque virtutis: increpitare atque incusare reliquos Belgas qui se populo Romano dedidissent patriamque virtutem projecissent: confirmare sese neque legatos missuros neque ullam conditionem pacis accepturos.

16. Quum per eorum fines triduum iter fecisset, inveniebat ex captivis Sabim flumen ab castris suis non amplius milia passuum x abesse: trans id flumen omnes Nervios consedisse adventumque ibi Romanorum exspectare una cum Atrebatis et Veromanduis, finitimus suis, nam his utrisque persuaserant uti eandem belli fortunam experirentur: exspectari etiam ab his Aduatucorum copias atque esse in itinere: mulieres quique per aetatem ad pugnam inutiles viderentur, in eum locum conjectasse quo propter paludes exercitui aditus non esset.

mercatoribus] He was told that the Nervii did not allow the traders (mercatores) to enter their country. These men used to sell wine, which the Gaul and Belgian liked, and other articles of luxury; as the traders sell brandy to the North American Indians.—‘nihil pati vini:’ this is another example of the Roman practice of interposing a word between two other words: but the Romans understand it thus: ‘they allowed nothing,’ and then they add, ‘wine, or (and) other articles of luxury;’ the genitives still depending on ‘nihil.’ (See i. 34, note.)

relanguescere—remitti] The Latin ‘re’ (red) indicates a reference to something past, of which the act or condition denoted by the verb beginning with ‘re’ is a consequence.—‘animos eorum:’ ‘their spirit,’ but it may be a general remark intended to express that such things weaken all men’s courage; and, accordingly, some editors think that ‘eorum’ ought to be omitted.

qui se—dedidissent] ‘for surrender-

ing,’ or ‘because they had surrendered.’—‘confirmare’ stands like ‘increpitare’ and ‘incusare,’ and the reader may supply ‘eos’ if he likes.—‘sese’ belongs to ‘missuros.’

16. *triduum]* is a noun: ‘for three days.’ Caesar was now only ten miles from the Sabis (Sambre), which joins the Mosa (Maas) on the left bank at Namur, in Belgium. The Nervii had placed the river between them and Caesar.—‘per aetatem:’ ‘on account of their age,’ i. 42.

propter paludes] Some geographers suppose that the territory of the Nervii extended to the coast, but there is no evidence of it in this passage, nor elsewhere. In c. 28, he speaks of the ‘aestuaria et paludes,’ where he may mean the country along the lower Schelde. But Caesar did not know the country well, for he had not seen it. The Morini and Menapii occupied the coast. The Nervii were chiefly in the interior, in Hainault, a province of Belgium.

17. His rebus cognitis, exploratores centurionesque praemittit qui locum idoneum castris deligant. Quumque ex dedititiis Belgis reliquisque Gallis complures Caesarem secuti una iter facerent, quidam ex his, ut postea ex captivis cognitum est, eorum dierum consuetudine itineris nostri exercitus perspecta, nocte ad Nervios pervenerunt atque his demonstrarunt inter singulas legiones impedimentorum magnum numerum intercedere, neque esse quidquam negotii, quum prima legio in castra venisset, reliquaeque legiones magnum spatium abessent, hanc sub sarcinis adoriri; qua pulsa impedimentisque direptis futurum ut reliquae contra consistere non auderent. Adjuvabat etiam eorum consilium qui rem deferebant, quod Nervii antiquitus, quum equitatu nihil possent

17. *locum idoneum*] This was the Roman fashion. Officers were sent a-head to look out for proper camping ground. Polybius (vi. 1) speaks of a tribunus and centurion doing this.

orum dierum &c.] This refers to 'triduum,' in c. 16: 'the fashion during those days of our army's march having been well observed.' — 'impedimentorum': the 'impedimenta' were the heavy things, military engines and stores carried in waggons or on beasts. They were placed between the legions. Vegetius (iii. 6) says 'that the cavalry went first, then the infantry; then the impediments, and some of the light troops and some cavalry brought up the rear.' — 'neque esse,' &c: 'and that it was a matter of no difficulty, when the first legion had reached the camping ground, and the rest were some distance off, to attack the first legion, while the men were still under their burden (sub sarcinis)' (i. 24). Besides his arms, the Roman soldier carried stakes (*valli*), used for the palisades of the camp, food and utensils, a saw, a spade, a chain for his prisoners, and other things. He was loaded like a mule.

futurum ut—auderent] 'the result would be that the rest of the legions

would not be bold enough to stand their ground.' 'Futurum ut,' a future, may be compared in form with 'fiebat ut,' i. 2. See also i. 10, note.

Adjuvabat &c.] 'This circumstance also gave strength to the advice of those who brought the information (rem deferebant);' the circumstance is 'quod Nervii . . . effecerant ut instar muri . . . praebarent,' all which is in place of a nominative to 'adjuvabat:' 'the circumstance that the Nervii had made these hedges serve as a defence, like a wall.' There is no difficulty in this long sentence, if the reader keeps close to the order of the words: 'the circumstance that the Nervii for a long time past (antiquitus), having no force of cavalry (for not even at present do they pay any attention to cavalry (*ei rei*), but all their strength lies in infantry), in order the more easily to impede the cavalry of their neighbours, if ever they came into their country to plunder, by cutting the young shoots of trees and bending (*infexis*) the branches which grew out thick at the sides (*in latitudinem*), and by placing briars and brambles between, had made,' &c. The country was intersected with thick hedges.

(neque enim ad hoc tempus ei rei student, sed quidquid possunt, pedestribus valent copiis) quo facilius finitimorum equitatum, si praedandi causa ad eos venissent, impeditrent, teneris arboribus incisis, atque inflexis crebris in latitudinem rami enatis, et rubis sentibusque interjectis, effecerant ut instar muri hae sepes munimentum praebarent, quo non modo intrari, sed ne perspici quidem posset. His rebus quum iter agminis nostri impeditur, non omittendum sibi consilium Nervii existaverunt.

18. Loci natura erat haec, quem locum nostri castris delegerant. Collis ab summo aequaliter declivis ad flumen Sabim, quod supra nominavimus, vergebatur. Ab eo flumine pari adclivitate collis nascebatur, adversus

'Instar' is a noun in the nominative, not declined; it means 'form.' — 'quo non modo,' &c. : 'quo' is the same as 'in quas sepes,' and is used in place of a relative and its preposition. No second 'non' is placed after 'modo,' when one verb, like 'posset,' belongs to both clauses. The usual translation of 'non modo' is bad; it means 'not so much as, not so far as,' that is, not so far as 'entering' (intrari) : 'and these hedges so far was it impossible to penetrate, that one could not even see through them.' In i. 16 there is 'non modo . . . non erant, sed ne quidem . . . suppettebat,' but in that passage there are two verbs, 'erant' and 'suppetebat.' The subjunctive 'posset' marks the general statement of a fact, 'hedges too thick to see through.' See i. 6, 'quibus itineribus domo exire possent.'

18. *Loci—quem*] 'The character of the ground was this, of the ground which our men had selected for the camp.' See i. 6, note, 'itiners, quibus itineribus.' Let a reader examine well this short chapter, and see if any words could better describe the ground.

declivis] 'sloping down' to the river. 'Adclivis,' 'sloping up' from the river.—'pari adclivitate': a corresponding upward slope.—'ad-

versus huic et contrarius': these two words must have different meanings. I think the 'adversus' means that in its upward slope the hill corresponded to the hill which Caesar's men had chosen for the camp; it was a slope like the other, and turned in the opposite direction. He adds 'contrarius,' which means that it was 'right opposite'; for the slope might have been in an opposite direction to that on the south side of the river, without being right opposite to it.—'passus . . . ducentos': about two hundred paces from the river the upward slope began, at the bottom ('infimus' agreeing with 'collis') bare, on the upper part (ab) so thickly wooded, that it was not easy to see into it. Kraner explains 'passus . . . apertus' thus: 'two hundred paces at the foot clear;' and he adds that two hundred paces does not mean the distance between the river and the hill, since the hill manifestly extended to the river (ab eo flumine nascebatur). I think that he is mistaken. 'Ut' often refers to an 'ita' suppressed; or we may place an emphasis on 'silvestris,' which in Latin answers the purpose of 'ita.' The emphasis on 'silvestris' is indicated by the order of the words, 'silvestris ut,' 'so woody that.'

hunc et contrarius, passus circiter ducentos, infimus aper-tus, ab superiore parte silvestris, ut non facile introrsus perapici posset. Intra eas silvas hostes in occulto sese continebant: in aperto loco secundum flumen paucae stationes equitum videbantur. Fluminis erat altitudo pedum circiter trium.

19. Caesar equitatu praemisso subsequebatur omnibus copiis; sed ratio ordoque agminis aliter se habebat ac Belgae ad Nervios detulerant. Nam quod ad hostes appropinquabat, consuetudine sua Caesar sex legiones expeditas ducebat: post eas totius exercitus impedimenta collocarat: inde duae legiones quae proxime conscriptae erant totum agmen cladebant praesidioque impedimentis erant. Equites nostri cum funditoribus sagittariisque flumen transgressi cum hostium equitatu proelium commiserunt. Quum se illi identidem in silvas ad suos reciperent ac rursus ex silva in nostros impetum facerent, neque nostri longius quam quem ad finem porrecta ac loca aperta pertinebant cedentes insequi auderent, interim legiones sex, quae primae venerant, opere dimenso castra munire cooperunt. Ubi prima impedimenta nostri exercitus ab his qui in silvis abditi latebant visa sunt, quod tempus inter eos committendi proelii convenerat,

ex silvas] The notion of 'silvae' is in 'silvestris'—'secundum flumen': 'along the river.' 'Secundum' (sequendum) is from 'sequi.' 'Stationes,' bodies of men posted to watch.

19. *quod ad hostes*] 'for as he was approaching the enemy, Caesar, according to his practice, was leading six legions unencumbered.' This is not the 'consuetudo itineris' (c. 12), but it was Caesar's practice when he came near an enemy; which the men did not know who carried the news to the Belgae. The two newest legions closed the rear and protected the baggage (c. 17). The same thing was done with the fresh troops in the fight against the Helvetii (i. 24).

identidem] 'from time to time,'—'ac rursus': 'and then returning; for 'rurus' is 'reversus' or 'reversus.' Here he says 'ex silva,' 'out of the

wood;' but he has just said 'in silvas,' which Kranei explains thus: 'the several parts of the forest in its extent;' and 'silva' is the whole forest as opposed to the 'loca aperta.' But he soon uses 'in silvia':—'quem ad finem' help us to supply the omission 'longius quam ad eum finem quem ad finem': 'not farther than to the point to which (ad quem finem) reached the parts lying along the river (porrecta) and the parts which were cleared.' Some editors have 'porrecta loca aperta pertinebant,' which they understand thus: 'as far as (quem ad finem) being extended the open parts reached.'—'opere dimenso': the camp was marked out, and each legion had its part to do in making the ditch and rampart; which is 'castra munire.'

quod tempus] Here, again, we

ita ut intra silvas aciem ordinesque constituerant atque ipsi sese confirmaverant, subito omnibus copiis provolaverunt impetumque in nostros equites fecerunt. His facile pulsis ac proturbatis incredibili celeritate ad flumen decucurrerunt ut paene uno tempore et ad silvas et in flumine et jam in manibus nostris hostes viderentur. Eadem autem celeritate adverso colle ad nostra castra atque eos qui in opere occupati erant contendenterunt.

20. Caesari omnia uno tempore erant agenda: vexillum proponendum, quod erat insigne quum ad arma concurri oporteret, signum tuba dandum, ab opere revocandi milites, qui paulo longius aggeris petendi causa processerant arcessendi, acies instruenda, milites cohortandi, signum dandum. Quarum rerum magnam partem temporis brevitas et successus hostium impediebat. His difficultatibus duae res erant subsidio: scientia atque usus militum, quod superioribus proeliis exercitati, quid

have the Latin fashion of making a relative agree with a noun after it, when there is no noun in the preceding sentence which it can refer to. The time (*tempus*) is 'ubi . . . visa sunt.' We ought to translate; 'and this was the time agreed on among them for beginning the fight.'—'ita ut,' &c.: 'just as they had arranged their order of battle, and their ranks in the forest, and as they had encouraged one another (to do)', that is, to do what the following words explain, 'subito . . . fecerunt.'

proturbatis] 'driven forward in disorder.'—'incredibili celeritate . . . ut.' See c. 18, note on 'silvestris ut.'—'in manibus nostris:' 'upon us:' in French, 'sur nous.'—'adverso colle:' 'up the hill.' No other case than the ablative would express this.

20. *Caesari*] He was surprised. He did not expect such a vigorous onset. — 'vexillum proponendum:' 'the flag to be hung out;' the sign of battle, as Caesar tells us. A 'vexillum' is a small 'velum.' This was for the eye. — 'signum tuba dandum:' the signal with the trumpet was for the ear; and its place in

the sentence shows that it was to bring the men together to form their ranks. — 'aggeris petendi causa:' 'agger' is the earth heaped up; but they had not gone a short distance for that. He must mean turf or wood. The last 'signum dandum' is the signal for battle.

successus hostium] 'their approach up the hill.'—'his difficultatibus,' &c.: 'their difficulties were relieved by two things.' He uses the dative 'subsidio' as we might do, to 'relieve the difficulties, though 'subsidium' is properly help to those to whom it is sent. If 'his difficultatibus' is the ablative, we must supply a dative 'nostris'; but it seems to be the dative.

scientia atque usus militum] 'the skill and the experience' of the soldiers saved them. They knew what to do. Besides, Caesar had taken the precaution to order each 'legatus' not to leave his legion until the intrenchments were made. Accordingly, each 'legatus' was with his legion.—'hi:' the 'legati.'—'nihil jam:' 'nihil' is more emphatic than 'non,' and 'jam' adds force to it. See i. 12, 'tres jam partes.'

fieri oporteret non minus commode ipsi sibi praescribere quam ab aliis doceri poterant, et quod ab opere singularisque legionibus singulos legatos Caesar discedere nisi munitis castris vetuerat. Hi propter propinquitatem et celeritatem hostium nihil jam Caesaris imperium exspectabant, sed per se quae videbantur administrabant.

21. Caesar necessariis rebus imperatis ad cohortandos milites quam in partem fors obtulit decucurrit et ad legiōnem decimam devenit. Milites non longiore oratione cohortatus quam uti suae pristinae virtutis memoriam retinerent neu perturbarentur animo hostiumque impe-
tum fortiter sustinerent, quod non longius hostes aberant quam quo telum adjici posset, proelii committendi signum dedit. Atque in alteram partem item cohortandi causa profectus pugnantibus occurrit. Temporis tanta fuit exiguitas hostiumque tam paratus ad dimicandum animus, ut non modo ad insignia accommodanda, sed etiam ad galeas induendas scutisque tegimenta detrudenda tempus defuerit. Quam quisque ab opera in partem casu devenit quaeque prima signa conspexit, ad haec constitit, ne in quaerendis suis pugnandi tempus dimitteret.

21. *quam in partem*] 'he ran down (from the camp, probably) to encourage the men to that part of the army which chance presented to him, and he came to the tenth legion.' The ninth and tenth legions were together on the left side of the camp (c. 23): 'quam partem' is another example of the relative agreeing with the noun which follows it; for 'quam in partem' is the same as 'in quos.'—'quod non longius,' &c. : these words must be connected with 'proelii . . . signum dedit.' 'Quam quo:' 'than (a point or distance) to which.' 'The enemy were not further off than a javelin throw.'

in alteram partem] He went towards 'the other side,' to the right side of the camp, but on his way he found the fight begun (pugnantibus occurrit). The twelfth and seventh legions were on the right.—'non modo . . . sed etiam:' 'non modo,'

followed by 'sed etiam,' may be translated 'not only,' where the word 'modo' still has its proper meaning (c. 17): 'not only for the fixing of their insignia, but even for putting on their helmets, and drawing the covers from their shields was time wanting.' The 'insignia' are the crests, feathers red and black, and other decorations which the soldiers had. They were moveable, as we learn from this passage. It appears that the soldiers fought this battle without their helmets. On the march the helmet was not carried on the head. The shields had leather coverings when they were not in use.

Quam—in partem] 'To whatever place each man accidentally came from his work, and whatever standards he first saw, there (ad haec) he took his place.' The words interposed between 'quam' and 'in partem' are after the Latin fashion.

22. Instructo exercitu magis ut loci natura dejec-
tusque collis et necessitas temporis quam ut rei militaris
ratio atque ordo postulabat, quum diversis legionibus
aliae alia in parte hostibus resisterent, sepibusque den-
sissimis, ut ante demonstravimus, interjectis prospectus
impediretur, neque certa subsidia collocari, neque quid
in quaque parte opus esset provideri, neque ab uno
omnia imperia administrari poterant. Itaque in tanta
rerum iniquitate fortunae quoque eventus variii seque-
bantur.

23. Legionis nonae et decimae milites, ut in sinistra
parte acie constiterant, pilis emissis cursu ac lassitudine
exanimatos vulneribusque confectos Atrebates (nam his
ea pars obvenerat) celeriter ex loco superiore in flumen
compulerunt et transire conantes insecuri gladiis magnam
partem eorum impeditam interfecerunt. Ipsi transire
flumen non dubitaverunt, et in locum iniquum progressi
rursus resistentes hostes redintegrato proelio in fugam
conjecerunt. Item alia in parte diversae duae legiones,
undecima et octava, profligatis Veromanduis, quibuscum
erant congressi; ex loco superiore in ipsis fluminis ripis
proeliabantur. At totis fere a fronte et ab sinistra parte

22. *dejectusque collis*] 'the slopes of the hill.' See c. 8.—'quum diversis . . . impediretur:' this part of the sentence explains why the army was formed for battle in an irregular way: 'since, owing to the legions being disjoined (diversis legionibus), they were severally in several parts (aliae alia in parte) resisting the enemy, and, as we have explained above, the view was interrupted by very thick hedges.' Then comes the conclusion, 'neque . . . neque . . . neque.' Things were in such a state that no commander could direct every thing. The 'legati,' and the soldiers of the several legions had to do the best that they could. 'Accordingly, under such unfavourable circumstances, the events of fortune that followed were various also.'—'in tanta rerum iniquitate:' compare 'in tanta multitudine dediticiorum' (i. 27). He has described the general

disorder, and he then proceeds (c. 23) to describe the several parts of the battle.

23. *Legionis nonae*] Here we learn that the ninth and tenth legions were on the left.—'ut in sinistra,' &c. : 'since they had taken their station on the left.' 'Acie' is a form of the genitive of 'acies.'—'non dubitaverunt:' see c. 2, note.—'rursus resistentes:' 'facing about and resisting.'

alia in parte diversae] 'also in another part (and) separated (diversae) two legions.' See c. 22. He makes 'congressi' refer to 'legiones.' See c. 26, note on 'qui quum.'

ex loco superiore] The eleventh and eighth legions were in front of the camp, in the centre. They had gone down from the higher ground on which the camp was, and were fighting with the Veromandui on the banks of the river.

nudatis castris, quum in dextro cornu legio duodecima et non magno ab ea intervallo septima constitisset, omnes Nervii confertissimo agmine duce Boduognato, qui summam imperii tenebat, ad eum locum contenderunt; quorum pars aperto latere legiones circumvenire, pars summum castrorum locum petere coepit.

24. Eodem tempore equites nostri levisque armaturae pedites, qui cum iis una fuerant, quos primo hostium impetu pulsos dixeram, quum se in castra recipierent, adversis hostibus occurribant ac rursus aliam in partem fugam petebant; et calones, qui ab decumana porta ac summo jugo collis nostros victores flumen transire conspererant, praedandi causa egressi, quum respergissent et hostes in nostris castris versari vidissent, praecepites fugae sese mandabant. Simil eorum qui cum impedimentis veniebant clamor fremitusque oriebatur, aliique aliam in partem perterriti ferebantur. Quibus omnibus rebus permoti equites Treviri, quorum inter Gallos virtutis opinio est singularis, qui auxiliis causa ab civitate ad Caesarem missi venerant, quum multitudine hostium castra nostra compleri, nostras legiones premi et paene circumventas teneri, calones, equites, funditores, Numi-

summam imperii] 'the supreme command.' See i. 41.—'ad eum locum': 'to the right wing.' Part of the Nervii attempted to fall on the exposed flank of these legions ('latere aperto'; comp. i. 25), and part to seize the highest ground on which the camp was; not the highest part of the camp, but the height on which the camp was. The most exposed flank was the right, but both flanks were exposed.

24. *adversis hostibus*] These troops of Caesar having been routed (c. 19), and making their escape into the camp, 'came right against the Nervii,' who had got into the camp; and then these troops ran back. 'Calones' are men used for menial service. After looking out from the top of the hill, which was behind the camp, and from the 'porta decumana,' which was in the rear of the camp, they hurried out to plunder,

but on turning their eyes back to the camp and seeing the enemy there, they ran away (fugae sese mandabant). See i. 12.

Treviri] 'Treviri . . . desperatis . . . domum contenderunt.' Between these words he has many other words of explanation; first a clause 'quorum . . . singularis,' 'of whose courage there is a very high opinion among the Galli' (c. 8, note on 'opinio'); then a clause 'qui (Treviri) . . . venerant'; and lastly the clause 'quum multitudine . . . vidissent,' which explains the cause of the terror of the Treviri. All this, if it is read in the order in which the author has placed it, is without any difficulty. He has not told us when these Treviri came; but he had received a message from the Treviri the year before (i. 37).—'diversos dissipatosque': 'running in different directions and scattered.' See c. 22.

das, diversos dissipatosque in omnes partes fugere vidissent, desperatis nostris rebus domum contendenterunt: Romanos pulsos superatosque, castris impedimentisque eorum hostes potitos civitati renuntiaverunt.

25. Caesar ab decimae legionis cohortatione ad dextrum cornu profectus, ubi suos urgeri signisque in unum locum collatis duodecimae legionis confortos milites sibi ipsos ad pugnam esse impedimento vident, quartae cohortis omnibus centurionibus occisis signiferoque interfecto, signo amissio, reliquarum cohortium omnibus fere centurionibus aut vulneratis aut occisis, in his primipile P. Sextio Baculo, fortissimo viro, multis gravibusque vulneribus confecto ut jam se sustinere non posset, reliquos esse tardiores, et nonnullos ab novissimis deserto proelio excedere ac tela vitare, hostes neque a fronte ex inferiore loco subeuntes intermittere et ab utroque latere instare, et rem esse in angusto vident, neque ullum esse

25. Caesar—profectus—in primam aciem processit &c.] If the sentence is first read with the omission of all the words from 'ubi suos urgeri' to 'sine scuto venerat,' the difficulty, which consists in its length, will disappear. Caesar ordered the men to extend their front ('laxare manipulos,' to open their ranks), that they might use their swords better.—'signis in unum locum:' the 'signa' were not all brought to one spot, but the 'signa' and the men were all crowded. Kraner supposes that the standards were all brought 'into one place,' and that the men had formed an 'orbis' in order to have only their faces to the enemy. What follows in this chapter and the next chapter also shows that he mistakes the meaning. The standard-bearer of the fourth cohort was killed. In Polybius' (vi. 24) time the legions were only divided into 'manipuli,' and each 'manipulus' had its 'signum,' even after the thirty 'manipuli' of a legion were distributed into ten cohorts (i. 40). Perhaps the 'signum' of one of the three 'manipuli' served as the 'signum' for the

cohort.

principato] He was the first in rank of the sixty centurions in a legion; the first centurion of the first 'centuria' of the first cohort. In iii. 5 Baculus is called 'primi pili centurio.'—'confecto ut:' 'exhausted by so many and such severe wounds that he could no longer stand.' Comp. c. 18, note, 'silvestris ut.'—'nonnullos ab novissimis,' &c.: 'some of those in the rear quitting the fight (deserto proelio).' Kraner correctly remarks that we must not take 'ab' in a partitive sense, like 'ex' or 'de,' but that it means 'on the side of,' that is here 'some of those in or on the rear.'—'neque a fronte . . . et ab utroque:' 'that the enemy neither in front ceased coming up from the lower ground, and was also attacking on both sides.'—'neque . . . et' often correspond in this manner. He continues 'et rem . . . subsidium:' 'and when he saw that matters were in great straits, and that there was no reserve which could be brought up.' Here 'neque ullum' corresponds to 'et rem esse,' and he repeats 'vidit.'

subsidiū quod submitti posset, scuto ab novissimis uni militi detracto, quod ipse eo sine scuto venerat, in primā aciem processit centurionibusque nominatim appellatis reliquos cohortatus milites signa inferre et manipulos laxare jussit, quo facilius gladiis uti possent. Cujus adventu spe illata militibus ac redintegrato animo, quum pro se quisque in conspectu imperatoris etiam in extremis suis rebus operam navare cuperet, paulum hostium impetus tardatus est.

26. Caesar, quum septimam legionem, quae juxta constiterat, item urgeri ab hoste vidisset, tribunos militum monuit ut paulatim sese legiones conjungerent et conversa signa in hostes inferrent. Quo facto, quum alias alii subsidiū ferret, neque timerent ne aversi ab hoste circumvenirentur, audacius resistere ac fortius pugnare coeperunt. Interim milites legionum duarum, quae in novissimo agmine praesidio impedimentis fuerant, proelio nuntiato cursu incitato in summo colle ab hostibus conspiciebantur; et T. Labienus castris hostium potitus et ex loco superiore quae res in nostris castris gererentur conspicatus decimam legionem subsidio nostris misit. Qui quum ex equitum et calonum fuga, quo in loco res esset, quantoque in periculo et castra et legiones et imperator versaretur, cognovissent, nihil ad celeritatem sibi reliqui fecerunt.

27. Horum adventu tanta rerum commutatio est facta

pro se quisque] 'every man on his part'—'in extremis suis rebus,' 'in their extreme need.' Comp. c. 27, 'in extrema spe salutis.'

26. *conjungerent &c.*] The legions were ordered to join and attack the enemy after changing the position of their standards, which means a change of position of some of the cohorts. They formed in such order as to be under no fear 'of being attacked by the enemy on their rear.' The two legions formed a four-sided figure by a few simple movements, but such as only disciplined soldiers can make during the heat of battle. The plan at the end of the volume explains this.

castris hostium] Labienus was

with the ninth and tenth legions, as we must infer (c. 23). He had crossed the river and got into the enemy's camp on the other side, from which he saw what was going on where Caesar was.—'proelio . . . incitato': 'on the report of the battle quickening their speed' (see c. 11). Two ablatives; the quickening of the speed was the consequence of 'the report of the battle.'—'qui quum': this refers to 'decimam legionem,' in which the notion of men is contained.—'nihil . . . reliqui fecerunt': 'they left nothing undone, or they omitted nothing in respect to speed'; 'nihil' being separated from its genitive 'reliqui' (c. 15).

ut nostri, etiam qui vulneribus confecti procubuisserent, scutis innixi proelium redintegrandent, tum calones perterritos hostes conspicati etiam inermes armatis occurrent, equites vero, ut turpitudinem fugae virtute delerent, omnibus in locis pugnae se legionariis militibus praferrent. At hostes etiam in extrema spe salutis tantam virtutem praestiterunt ut, quum primi eorum cecidissent, proximi jacentibus insisterent atque ex eorum corporibus pugnarent; his dejectis et coacervatis cadaveribus, qui superessent ut ex tumulo tela in nostros conjicerent et pila intercepta remitterent: ut non nequidquam tantae virtutis homines judicari deberet ausos esse transire latissimum flumen, ascendere altissimas ripas, subire inquisissimum locum: quae facilia ex difficillimis animi magnitudo redegerat.

28. Hoc proelio facto et prope ad internectionem gente ac nomine Nerviorum redacto, majores natu, quos una

27. *vulneribus confecti*] 'exhausted by wounds.' See c. 26, 'vulneribus confecto.' See iii. 21, 'nostri etiam qui,' 'our men, even those who.' Compare i. 52, 'complures nostri.'—'omnibus in locis pugnae:' 'in all parts of the field,' wherever the fight was going on. The Gallic cavalry recovered their courage when they saw that the danger was over.

in extrema spe salutis] 'when all hope of saving themselves was at an end.' See c. 25, note. 'Dans leur dernier espoir de salut.'

his dejectis &c.] 'when these were struck down and the dead bodies were lying in heaps, the survivors (qui superessent), as from a mound of earth, threw missiles against our men, and cast back the pila which they caught.' The tenses 'conjicerent,' 'remitterent,' depend upon 'tantam virtutem praestiterunt ut.'

ut non nequidquam &c.] 'so that not without purpose ought it to be considered that men so brave had dared to cross a very broad river, to climb very high banks, to mount up most unfavorable ground.' This is the way that Kraner explains the

passage, and he may be right. But the text is not certain, for there are various readings. If this explanation is right, Caesar means that men so brave had not dared all this without good grounds, that is, hopes of success. It appears that the river banks were high in the part where the Nervii crossed the stream. Some people have found an inconsistency here, for Caesar (c. 19) speaks of the cavalry crossing the river in pursuit of the enemy, which would not be easy if the banks had been very high there. But if these wise men had ever looked at a river, they might have learned that the banks which are high in one place are often low in another, even if the two parts are near to one another. It is not Caesar's fashion to make a long story and explain what is not to the purpose. He tells us here incidentally that the banks were high in that part where the Nervii crossed; and if the fact is true, as I assume it to be, he has told it plain enough.

28. *gente ac nomine*] 'the nation and the name being reduced to almost total destruction.' 'Nomen' some-

cum pueris mulieribusque in aestuaria ac paludes collectos dixeramus, hac pugna nuntiata, quum victoribus nihil impeditum, victis nihil tutum arbitrarentur, omnium qui supererant consensu legatos ad Caesarem miserunt seque ei dediderunt, et in commemoranda civitatis calamitate ex sexcentis ad tres senatores, ex hominum milibus LX vix ad d qui arma ferre possent sese redactos esse dixerunt. Quo Caesar, ut in miseros ac supplices usus misericordia videretur, diligentissime conservavit suisque finibus atque oppidis uti jussit, et finitimis imperavit ut ab injuria et maleficio se suosque prohiberent.

29. Aduatuci, de quibus supra scripsimus, quum omnibus copiis auxilio Nerviis venirent, hac pugna nuntiata ex itinere domum reverterunt; cunctis oppidis castellisque desertis sua omnia in unum oppidum egregie natura munitum contulerunt. Quod quum ex omnibus in circuitu partibus altissimas rupes despectusque haberet, una ex parte leniter adclivis aditus in latitudinem non amplius ducentorum pedum relinquebatur; quem locum duplii altissimo muro munierant, tum magni ponderis saxa et praecutae trabes in muro collocarant. Ipsi erant ex Cimbris Teutonisque prognati, qui, quum iter in pro-

times means a people, but in that case it is generally used with an adjective, as 'nomen Latinum.'—'aestuaria': aestuaries, places on the coast in which the tide rises and falls.—'victoribus nihil impeditum': 'thinking (quum arbitrarentur) that there was no obstacle in the way of the conquerors.'

LX] The number of men which the Nervii were said to have promised was 50,000 (c. 4).—'qui arma ferre possent': 'they said that out of sixty thousand men they were reduced to barely the number of five hundred fighting men (qui arma ferre possent).' See i. 29.

ut—videretur] 'that he might be considered to have shown compassion.'—'diligentissime conservavit': 'he protected most carefully'; and the following words tell us what he did.

29. *Aduatuci*] See c. 4.—'ex itinere, &c. : 'on their march they

turned back and went home.' *ex omnibus—partibus]* 'on all sides all round'; so 'ex' is used in Latin, the person who describes it being supposed to be in the place. Compare i. 21, 'in circuitu ascensu'; 'it had very high rocks and prospects (down into the plain).' On one side there was a gentle ascent (leniter adclivis aditus) to the flat on which the town stood, of the width of two hundred feet, not more. See c. 7, note on 'minus.' The people had placed large stones on the wall to throw them down on the enemy, and beams sharpened at the end (praecutae) to prevent the enemy approaching.

The site of this town of the Aduatuci is unknown. They were, as Caesar tells us, descendants of the Teutoni and Cimbri, who had ravaged all Gallia (c. 4, and i. 33).

qui—custodiam—reliquerunt] 'who left men to look after ('custo-

vinciam nostram atque Italiam facerent, iis impedimentis, quae secum agere ac portare non poterant, citra flumen Rhenum depositis custodiam ex suis ac praesidio sex milia hominum una reliquerunt. Hi post eorum obitum multos annos a finitimis exagitati, quum alias bellum inferrent, alias illatum defenderent, consensu eorum omnium pace facta hunc sibi domicilio locum delegerunt.

30. Ac primo adventu exercitus nostri crebras ex opido excursiones faciebant parvulisque proeliis cum nostris contendebant: postea vallo pedum **XII**, in circuitu **XV** milium crebrisque castellis circumcommuniti oppido sese continebant. Ubi vineis actis, aggere exstructo turrim procul constitui viderunt, primum irridere ex muro atque

diam,' equivalent to 'custodes') the moveables which they had placed on this side of the Rhine, and also (una) six thousand men to protect them.'

post eorum obitum] After the destruction of the Cimbri and Teutoni in the south of Gallia and in north Italy (i. 33, note).

quum alias &c.] 'sometimes making war (on their neighbours), sometimes repelling their neighbours' attacks (bellum illatum).'
—*hunc.. locum*: not the town only, but the territory also; as in i. 30, 'locum domicilio ex magna copia.'

30. *primo adventu*] 'as soon as our army arrived.' 'Primo adventu' is like 'prima luce,' i. 22.

vallo pedum XII] 'a vallum twelve feet high,' a form of expression which he uses elsewhere (vii. 72). I have retained the reading '**XV** milium,' which means 15,000 Roman 'passus,' or fifteen Roman miles. If the reading is correct, this great circuit was necessary on account of the form and extent of the hill which he had to enclose. The outer lines which he made round Alesia were fourteen Roman miles in circuit (vii. 74); and an examination of the site of Alesia shows that Caesar told the truth. Caesar could easily make a ditch of fifteen miles. He had seven legions, one having been sent off (c. 34), and other men

besides. If his legionary soldiers are estimated at 30,000 men, he had two thousand men to work at each mile.

In 'The Times' of December 9, 1854, in a letter signed 'Charles Shaw,' there is a calculation which was sent to the writer of the letter by Mr. Seymour Clarke, the secretary of the Great Northern Railway in 1851: 'One hundred men in ten hours can make one hundred yards of a ditch 21 feet broad at the top and 12 feet deep, with the earth thrown upwards and upwards as a parapet; in fact each man can dig a yard in length, equal to lifting 14 cubic yards. Five thousand regular railway navvies could in ten hours make such a ditch, or form an impediment of 5000 yards, nearly three miles; and supposing soldiers can only do the third part of navvies' work here, they can make a mile of protection in ten hours.'

vineis actis] 'after the 'vineae' had been brought up to the walls and the 'agger' had been constructed, they saw a tower placed upon it some distance off.' The 'vineae' were brought up first to protect the men, while they formed the 'agger,' or embankment of earth, stones, and timber along which the tower was to be moved up to the walls.

increpitare vocibus, quod tanta machinatio ab tanto spatio instrueretur, Quibusnam manibus aut quibus viribus praesertim homines tantulae statura (nam plerumque omnibus Gallis prae magnitudine corporum suorum brevitas nostra contemptui est) tanti oneris turrim in muro sese collocare confidenter?

31. Ubi vero moveri et appropinquare moenibus videbunt, nova atque inusitata specie commoti legatos ad Caesarem de pace miserunt, qui ad hunc modum locuti, non existimare Romanos sine ope divina bellum gerere, qui tantae altitudinis machinationes tanta celeritate promovere [et ex propinquitate pugnare] possent, se suaque omnia eorum potestati permittere dixerunt. Unum petere ac deprecari: si forte pro sua clementia ac mansuetudine, quam ipsi ab aliis audirent, statuisset Aduatuos esse conservandos, ne se armis despoliaret. Sibi omnes fere finitimos esse inimicos ac suae virtuti invidere a quibus se defendere traditis armis non possent. Sibi praestare, si in eum casum ducerentur, quamvis fortunam a populo Romano pati quam ab his per cruciatum interfici inter quos dominari consuissent.

32. Ad haec Caesar respondit: Se magis consuetudine

quod tanta &c.] 'they began to mock and rally (increpitare vocibus) the Romans, that such a piece of machinery was set up at such a distance (saying), "ab tanto spatio" [compare c. 7, 'ab milibus passuum minus II.'

plerumque omnibus] 'almost all.' In v. 57, there is 'equites plerumque omnes.' The men are represented as asking the Romans 'whether they had confidence enough to think (confidenter) that such little fellows as they were could place so huge a tower on the walls.' Kraner finds this so impossible an idea, that he alters the text. 'Ignorant as these people were,' he says, 'they could not possibly suppose that the Romans intended to plant the tower on the walls.' Any boy ten years old may answer this objection.

31. *non existimare—possent*] These

words explain 'ad hunc modum locuti:' they contain what the 'legati' said. 'Qui ad hunc modum locuti . . . se suaque omnia . . . dixerunt.' In c. 3, he says, 'se suaque omnia in fidem . . . permittere.'

deprecari] This word, which strengthens 'petere,' refers directly to 'ne se . . . despoliarent,' 'they intended him not to rob them of their arms.'—'pro sua clementia:' according to his well-known clemency' (c. 14).

Sibi praestare] 'It was better for them, if they should be brought into that (pitiable) case (to be deprived of their arms), to suffer any thing that might befall them (quamvis fortunam) from the Roman people, rather than to be tortured to death by those among whom they had been used to rule.'—'quam' refers to 'praestare,' which has the force of a comparative.

sua quam merito eorum civitatem conservaturum, si prius quam murum aries attigisset se dedidissent; sed deditio-
nis nullam esse conditionem nisi armis traditis. Se-
id quod in Nerviis fecisset facturum finitimusque impera-
turum, ne quam deditiis populi Romani injuriam infer-
rent. Renuntiata ad suos quae imperarentur; facere dix-
erunt. Armorum magna multitudine de muro in fossam
quae erat ante oppidum jacta sic ut prope summam muri
aggerisque altitudinem acervi armorum adaequarent, et
tamen circiter parte tertia, ut postea perspectum est,
celata atque in oppido retenta, portis patefactis, eo die
pace sunt usi.

38. Sub vesperum Caesar portas claudi militesque ex
oppido exire jussit ne quam noctu oppidani ab militibus
injuriam acciperent. Illi, ante inito, ut intellectum est,
consilio, quod deditio facta nostros praesidia deducturos

32. *prius quam murum aries*] 'before the ram touched the wall.' This was a usual form of expression. It signified, if no resistance was made. The 'aries' was a strong beam of wood, with an iron head at the end in the form of a ram's head. It was suspended from a framework, and worked by men, who drove it against the wall.—'sed nullam,' &c.: 'but he said that there were no terms of surrender, unless the arms were first given up.'

in Nerviis] 'in the case of the Nervii.'—'renuntiata,' &c.: 'his terms (quae imperarentur) being reported (to the people), they said they were ready to obey his orders (facere dixerunt).' Some editors write, 'Renuntiata,' the ablative absolute; but we want the word 'renuntiare.' The apparent irregularity in 'renuntiata' is easily cured, if we put a stop after 'imperarentur': 'his terms (quae imperarentur) were reported (renuntiata sunt). They said they were ready to do what he required.'

sic ut &c.] 'so that the heaps of armour rose almost as high as the top of the agger and the wall.' We must suppose that the 'agger'

was carried right up to the wall, and of course the ditch in that part was filled; but if the 'agger' was not two hundred feet wide, and we infer that it was not, then there was a part of the 'fossa' on each side of the 'agger' which was not filled up by it.
pace sunt usi] 'they kept quiet.'

33. *Sub vesperum*] 'As evening came on.' See c. 11, 'sub occasum solis.' In vii. 61, 'sub lucem' means 'just before daybreak.' 'Solis occasu' means 'as soon as the sun had set'; as 'horum adventu' (c. 27) means 'as soon as they had come.'

praesidia deducturos] 'would take the men out of their forts (castella), or at least (denique) would guard them with less care.'—'cum his . . . armis:' between these words he places, after Roman fashion, 'quae . . . celaverant.'—'scutis,' &c.: 'with shields made of bark, or (made) by intertwining thin twigs, which in haste, as the shortness of time required, they had covered with skins.'—'repantino' is an adverb.—'illi . . . tertia vigilia . . . omnibus copiis . . . eruptionem fecerunt:' the nominative separated from the verb by all the explanation 'ante inito . . . induxerant.'

aut denique indiligentius servatores crediderant, partim cum his quae retinuerant et celaverant armis, partim scutis ex cortice factis aut viminibus intextis, quae subito, ut temporis exiguitas postulabat, pellibus induxerant, tertia vigilia qua minime arduus ad nostras munitiones ascensus videbatur, omnibus copiis repentina ex oppido eruptionem fecerunt. Celeriter, ut ante Caesar imperarat, ignibus significazione facta, ex proximis castellis eo concussum est, pugnatumque ab hostibus ita acriter est ut a viris fortibus in extrema spe salutis iniquo loco contra eos qui ex vallo turribusque tela jacerent pugnari debuit, quum in una virtute omnis spes salutis consistaret. Occisis ad hominum milibus quatuor reliqui in oppidum rejecti sunt. Postridie ejus diei refractis portis, quum jam defenderet nemo, atque intromissis militibus nostris sectionem ejus oppidi universam Caesar vendidit. Ab

eo concussum est] 'the Romans hurried to the place,' to those parts of the 'munitions,' or lines, which the enemy were attacking. Caesar had prepared for a surprise, by having arranged heaps of wood to be lighted as beacons, to let the whole camp know if any attack was made. The great extent of his lines made this precaution necessary.

et a viris fortibus] 'as brave men ought to fight (ut . . . pugnari debuit), when fighting for their lives (in extrema spe salutis), on unfavorable ground, against soldiers throwing missiles from a rampart and tower.'—'contra eos qui . . . jacerent,' is not against Caesar's men who were throwing, for that would be 'jaciebant,' but generally against 'any men throwing.' See c. 27, 'in extrema spe salutis.'

Occisis ad hominum] If 'ad' is right, and has its usual sense, the words are in confusion, for they mean 'thousands of men, to the number of (ad) four (thousand) being killed.' But some critics take 'ad' to be equivalent to 'circiter,' which might be used here. Kraner quotes Caesar (B. C. iii. 58, 'ad duorum milium numero ex Pompeianis ceci-

disce reperiebantur').

refractis portis] This is one of the forms of 're.' The gates were broken open by force, in spite of their strength and resistance.

sectionem] 'Caesar made a public auction of all the people of the town.' Whatever may be the exact meaning of 'sectio,' it was used to signify a mass of property sold on the public account. The buyers of such property were called 'sectores.' The purchasers of these slaves would be the Roman 'mercatores' who followed the camp (Livy, x. 12). The prisoners could only be secured by being chained, and driven off in gangs to be sold in the Provincia and in Italy. If Caesar got ten pounds a head for each slave, on an average, the sale brought him in above half a million of money. But perhaps ten pounds would be a high average, particularly as there would be great expense in getting the slaves from so remote a place to a market. Still there must have been a very large sum in the hands of the 'mercatores' to enable them to make such a purchase; and it is probable that many of them were merely the agents of great Roman capitalists,

his qui emerant capitum numerus ad eum relatus est milium **LI**II.

34. Eodem tempore a P. Crasso, quem cum legione una miserat ad Venetos, Unellos, Osismos, Curiosolitas, Sesuvios, Aulercos, Redones, quae sunt maritimae civitates Oceanumque attingunt, certior factus est omnes eas civitates in deditioinem potestatemque populi Romani esse redactas.

35. His rebus gestis omni Gallia pacata, tanta hujus belli ad barbaros opinio perlata est uti ab his nationibus quae trans Rhenum incolerent mitterentur legati ad Cæsarem, qui se obsides daturas, imperata facturas pollicerentur. Quas legationes Caesar, quod in Italiam Illyricumque properabat, inita proxima aestate ad se reverti jussit. Ipse in Carnutes, Andes Turonesque, quae civi-

who thought gain a good thing in whatever way it came.

34. *legione una*] He had sent Crassus, after the battle on the Sambre, for all the eight legions were in that bloody fight. A single legion, the seventh (iii. 7), was sufficient to command the submission of these Armorican states on the Atlantic, a fact which shows that the Galli were terrified by the active and cruel pro-consul.

These maritime states were between the lower courses of the Loire and the Seine, in the country called Bretagne, before the Revolution of 1789, and in the peninsula of Cotentin. The modern departments of Morbihan, Finistère, Côtes du Nord, Ille et Vilaine, and Manche, contain pretty nearly these Armorican states which submitted.—‘quae . . . civitates’ Caesar’s common form in such cases, the relative agreeing with the noun that follows.

35. *omni Gallia*] He means all Gallia, not Celtica.—‘tanta hujus belli . . . opinio’] ‘such a report about this war.’ The subjunctive ‘quae . . . incolerent’ seems to be used according to Roman practice, because it is contained in the dependent clause, ‘uti ab his nationibus

. . . mitterentur.’

Italiam] ‘Italia’ means Gallia Cisalpina, which is included within the natural limits of Italy; but the meaning of Italy as a political term did not comprise Gallia Cisalpina at the time when Caesar wrote this. Illyricum was included within Caesar’s Provincia, which was given to him for five years. The Roman Illyricum was part of the country on the east side of the Adriatic, but the limits of the oldest province named Illyricum are not certain. The town of Aquileia, from which Caesar took three legions (i. 10), was in Gallia Cisalpina, and perhaps not far from the border of Illyricum, which appears to have extended south along the Adriatic as far as the river Drilo (Drino), and the town Lissus.

Carnutes] A people whose territory was chiefly on the north side of the Loire. Their towns were Genabum (Orléans), on the Loire, and Autricum (Chartres). The Andes, sometimes named Andecavi, were on the right bank of the Loire, between the Namnetes and the Turones. Their chief town, afterwards called Juliomagus, is Angers.

The Turones were on both sid-

tates propinquae his locis erant ubi bellum gesserat, legionibus in hibernacula deductis in Italiam profectus est. Ob easque res ex literis Caesaris dies quindecim supplicatio decreta est, quod ante id tempus accidit nulli.

of the Loire, their territory on the north side of the river lying between the Andes and the Carnutes. The name Turones is the origin of the name of Touraine, one of the old divisions of France, the capital of which was Tours on the Loire.

quae civitates] Compare c. 34. None of these nations were very near to the country in which this summer's campaign had taken place. The Andes were the nearest to the maritime states which submitted to Crassus, and it is probable that the legions wintered along the Loire in order to be near these states, if they should be uneasy. But there was another reason for Caesar's placing his troops in the Orléannois and the parts west. It is a country where he would find abundant supplies. North of Orléans is the Beauce, one of the great corn-growing countries of France; and where at another time (vii. 3) Caesar fixed a commissariat officer. By placing his men in quarters along the line of the Loire, Caesar stopped all communication between the countries north

and south of the river. The Loire divides Celtica into two parts, and Caesar availed himself of this natural division to divide the people, and secure quiet during the winter.—‘inita . . . aestate’: see c. 2.

in hibernacula] ‘into winter huts.’ Some editions have ‘hiberna,’ which is winter quarters generally.

ex literis] ‘upon Caesar's despatches being received.’ ‘Literae’ is the letters or despatches sent by a governor or general to the Roman senate. A ‘supplicatio’ was a religious ceremony, a thanksgiving and rejoicing for a victory, which was ordered by the Senate, when there was a cause for it (iv. 38). And there was cause for it, as Plutarch says (Caesar, c. 21). The enemies from the north, who had so long threatened Italy, had been followed to their remote fastnesses, conquered, slaughtered, and sold. Here he says, ‘dies quindecim supplicatio.’ In iv. 38, he says ‘dierum viginti supplicatio.’—‘accidit nulli’: ‘nulli’ emphatic at the end, like ‘nemini.’

LIBER TERTIUS.

ARGUMENT.

1. THE winter quarters of Galba between the Leman Lake and the Alps. 2—6. He is attacked by the Galli, who are repulsed, and Galba retreats to the Provincia. 7—11. A rising of the Armorican states, who are moved to it by the Veneti; Caesar's preparations for the war. 12, 13. The country of the Veneti; description of their ships. 14—16. Caesar's naval battle with the Veneti, whose fleet is destroyed. 17—19. The march of Q. Titurius against the Unelli, who are subdued. 20—22. P. Crassus enters Aquitania, and defeats the Sotiates; the institution of the Soldurii. 23—27. The Aquitani receive aid from Spain, but they are defeated by Crassus; and the greater part of the Aquitani submit to the Romans. 28. Caesar marches against the Morini and the Menapii, who retreat to their forests. 29. Caesar cuts a road through the forests, but his operations are stopped by the rains.

The events in this book belong to A.V.C. 698, or B.C. 56; and the consulship of Cn. Cornelius Lentulus and L. Marcus Philippus.

QUUM in Italiam proficisceretur Caesar, Servium Galbam cum legione duodecima et parte equitatus in Nantuates, Veragros Sedunosque misit, qui ab finibus Allobrogum et lacu Lemanno et flumine Rhodano ad summas Alpes pertinent. Causa mittendi fuit quod iter per Alpes, quo

1. *Servium Galbam*] He was the great-grandfather of the emperor Galba, and also one of the assassins of Caesar, B.C. 44.

Caesar says (ii. 35) that he set out into Italy, but he did not go to Italy before he had sent Galba to his winter quarters. This affair of Galba belongs to the end of the year B.C. 57 (c. 7).

Nantuates] These three people were east of the Allobroges, and, as we learn from this passage and other authorities, the Nantuates were south of the lake of Geneva and bordered on the Allobroges (c. 6). East of the Nantuates were the Veragri, and

east of the Veragri were the Seduni. The Veragri and Seduni were in the long valley called Valais or Wallis, down which the Rhône flows into the lake of Geneva. The Seduni were higher up in this valley, and their chief town is called Sitten by the Germans and Sion by the French.

mittendi] He omits the case after 'mittendi,' such a word as 'eos' or 'has copias' being understood. Caesar wished to make the passes of the Alps free for the traders who came from Italy. The road (iter) was dangerous, and the natives made the merchants pay heavy tolls (portoria). See i. 18. Caesar may mean th

magno cum periculo magnisque cum portoriis mercatores ire consuerant, patefieri volebat. Huic permisit, si opus esse arbitraretur, uti in his locis legionem hiemandi causa collocaret. Galba secundis aliquot proeliis factis castellisque compluribus eorum expugnatis, missis ad eum undique legatis obsidibusque datis et pace facta, constituit cohortes duas in Nantuatibus collocare et ipse cum reliquis ejus legionis cohortibus in vico Veragrorum, qui appellatur Octodurus, hiemare; qui vicus positus in valle non magna adjecta planicie altissimis montibus undique continetur. Quum hic in duas partes flumine divideretur, alteram partem ejus vici Gallis ad hiemandum concessit, alteram vacuam ab illis relictam cohortibus attribuit. Eum locum vallo fossaque munivit.

2. Cum dies hibernorum complures transissent, frumentumque eo comportari jussisset, subito per exploratores certior factus est ex ea parte vici, quam Gallis concesserat, omnes noctu discessisse, montesque qui impenderent a maxima multitudine Sedunorum et Veragrorum teneri. Id aliquot de causis acciderat ut subito Galli belli renovandi legionisque opprimendae consilium cape-

road up the Valais, which is now continued in that of the Simplon; but there is also a road by the pass of the Great St. Bernard, and this road existed in the Roman time. In c. 2 he says 'itinerum causa.'

orum] 'of the people whom I have mentioned;' this is the common use of 'is' when he refers to something that has been mentioned.

Octodurus] A Celtic name, the second part of which contains the word 'dwr,' 'water.' Octodurus is now Martinach or Martigny, as the French call it, on the left bank of the Rhône, at the place where the river makes a great bend, before it descends to the lake of Geneva. The river Drance, which flows down southward from the Alps, joins the Rhône at Octodurus; and the road to the pass of the Great St. Bernard is up the valley of the Drance.—'qui vicus:' compare i. 6, 'quibus

itineribus.'

Quum hic] 'This small town being divided into two parts by a stream; which stream is the Drance. Galba prudently gave the town on one side of the river to the Galli, and secured himself in the other part by a rampart (vallum) and a ditch, after Roman fashion.

2. *eo* 'to the place;' 'cum locum,' the quarters.—'qui impenderent:' 'the mountains that rose up high around Octodurus;' the subjunctive is used in such a case, when a piece of news is reported. The Veragri and Seduni only had assembled, Octodurus being in the country of the Veragri, and the Seduni being nearer than the Nantuates.

Id—acciderat ut—consilium caperent] 'Id' refers to 'consilium caperent,' or we may say that 'consilium caperent' explains what the 'id' is.

rent; primum, quod legionem neque eam plenissimam detractis cohortibus duabus, et compluribus singillatim qui commeatus petendi causa missi erant absentibus, propter paucitatem despiciebant; tum etiam, quod propter iniquitatem loci, quum ipsi ex montibus in vallem decurserent et tela conjicerent, ne primum quidem posse impetum suum sustineri existimabant. Accedebat quod suos ab se liberos abstractos obsidum nomine dolebant, et Romanos non solum itinerum causa sed etiam perpetuae possessionis culmina Alpium occupare conari et ea loca finitimae provinciae adjungere sibi persuasum habebant.

3. His nuntiis acceptis, Galba, quum neque opus hibernorum munitionesque plene essent perfectae, neque de frumento reliquoque commeatu satis esset provisum, quod ditione facta obsidibusque acceptis nihil de bello timendum existimaverat, consilio celeriter convocato sententias exquirere coepit. Quo in consilio, quum tantum

neque eam plenissimam] 'and that not a very complete legion,' for it had been in the great battle on the Sambre (ii. 25). Besides this, two cohorts were taken from it and posted in the country of the Nantuates (c. 1).—'compluribus singillatim': 'and a great number severally,' not together, like the men in the two cohorts.—'commeatus' is the genitive singular. Caesar generally uses this word in the singular (i. 39, 48).

iniquitatem loci] 'the unevenness of the ground,' explained by the words which follow, 'they themselves coming down quick from the mountains and throwing their missiles (into the Roman camp).'

Accedebat quod—dolebant] 'To this was added their vexation at their children being torn from them as hostages (obsidum nomine).' The nominative to 'accedebat' is 'quod . . . dolebant.'—'sibi persuasum habebant': 'they were convinced,' 'they had full persuasion'; 'sibi' depends on 'persuasum.'

3. *Galba—exquirere coepit*] Here he writes 'consilium,' 'a council of

war.' 'Consilium' means a large assembly, as of the Gallic states (i. 18).—'de frumento . . . esset provisum': one of the forms of the Roman impersonal, which should be well understood. We say, or can say: 'nor as to corn and the rest of the supplies had full provision yet been made.' Caesar uses 'providere' with a dative sometimes (iii. 18), and also thus, 're frumentaria provisa' (ii. 2).

Quo in consilio—prope jam—hujusmodi sententiae dicebantur] Between 'quo in consilio' and the conclusion, 'prope jam desperata salute,' 'having now lost almost all hope of saving themselves,' he places the words 'quum tantum . . . possent,' which words tell us why they despaired.—'neque subsidio veniri (posset)': 'there being no possibility of relief coming'; 'posset' is used impersonally. He then says, 'and it not being possible for the supplies to be brought up (supportari) in consequence of the roads being stopped;' where 'commeatus' is the nominative to 'possent.'—'supportari': cor-

repentini periculi praeter opinionem accidisset, ac jam omnia fere superiora loca multitudine armatorum completa conspicerentur, neque subsidio veniri neque commeatus supportari interclusis itineribus possent, prope jam desperate salute nonnullae hujusmodi sententiae dicebantur, ut impedimentis relictis eruptione facta iisdem itineribus quibus eo pervenissent ad salutem contendarent. Majori tamen parti placuit hoc reservato ad extremum consilio interim rei eventum experiri et castra defendere.

4. Brevi spatio interjecto vix ut his rebus quas constituerent collocandis atque administrandis tempus daretur, hostes ex omnibus partibus signo dato decurrere, lapides gaesaque in vallum conjicere. Nostri primo integris viribus fortiter repugnare neque ullum frustra telum ex loco superiore mittere; ut quaeque pars castrorum nudata defensoribus premi videbatur, eo occurrere et auxilium ferre, sed hoc superari quod diuturnitate pugnae hostes defessi proelio excedebant, alii integris viribus succedebant; quarum rerum a nostris propter paucitatem fieri

pare 'subvexerat,' i. 16.—'hujusmodi sententiae,' 'opinions to this effect,' 'hujusmodi' and 'eiusmodi' are often thus used, and sometimes, as here, with reference to a subjunctive clause, 'ut . . . contenderent.'

Majori tamen &c.] 'However it was the opinion (placuit) of the majority, that reserving this determination for extremities, they should in the mean time try what the event would be (rei eventum experiri), and this was to be done, as he explains it, by defending the camp. Compare c. 5, 'extremum auxilium experientur.'

4. *Brevi—vix ut*] See i. 6, note on 'vix qua'; and ii. 18 on 'silvestris ut.' He means, 'a short time having intervened, (so short) that scarcely was time allowed.'—'decurrere:' he has a series of infinitives in this chapter, all intended to show the rapidity of the action. The 'gaesum' or 'gais' was a Gallic missile. These men threw stones too. It would be a great mistake to

suppose that this was a small danger to the Romans. Some people practise stone throwing and are very expert at it. (See ii. 6.) The people in some of the Lipari islands in former times have pelted pirates from their shores.

ex loco superiore] The 'vallum,' which was higher than the ditch and the parts immediately bordering on the ditch.—'ut quaeque pars . . . eo:' 'when any part of the camp, being bared of its defenders, seemed in danger of being taken, thither the Romans went to meet the enemy (eo occurrere).' He means that the men here and there were driven from the ramparts by the missiles and disabled.

sed hoc superari quod] 'but herein the Romans had the disadvantage (superari), that the enemy, exhausted by the length of the fight, left it, and others with their strength fresh took their place.'

quarum rerum] 'of all which,' the leaving the fight by those who were

nihil poterat, ac non modo defesso ex pugna excedendi, sed ne saucio quidem ejus loci ubi constiterat relinquendi ac sui recipiendi facultas dabatur.

5. Quum jam amplius horis sex continenter pugnaretur, ac non solum vires sed etiam tela nostris deficerent, atque hostes acrius instarent languidioribusque nostris vallum scindere et fossas complere coepissent, resque esset jam ad extremum perducta casum, P. Sextius Baculus, primi pili centurio, quem Nervico proelio compluribus confectum vulneribus diximus, et item C. Volusenus, tribunus militum, vir et consilii magni et virtutis, ad Galbam accurrunt atque unam esse spem salutis docent, si eruptione facta extremum auxilium experientur. Itaque convocatis centurionibus celeriter milites certiores facit, Paulisper intermitterent proelium ac tantummodo tela missa exciperent seque ex labore reficerent, post dato signo e castris erumperent atque omnem spem salutis in virtute ponerent.

6. Quod jussi sunt faciunt, ac subito omnibus portis eruptione facta neque cognoscendi quid fieret neque sui colligendi hostibus facultatem relinquunt. Ita commu-

exhausted and the coming of others in their place. We may say, 'nothing like this could be done by our men.' — 'non modo . . . sed ne saucio quidem' : 'and not to speak of the exhausted man leaving the fight, not even the wounded man had the opportunity of quitting the place where he had been posted, and recruiting himself.' The negation in 'ne . . . quidem' and the words 'facultas dabatur' belong both to the first part of the sentence 'ac non modo . . . excedendi,' and to the second part. A second negation (non) after 'non modo' cannot be used here.

5. *tela nostris deficerent*] 'missiles failed our men' : the stock was exhausted. In v. 33 'deficere' is followed by an accusative.—'languidioribusque' : 'and our men growing weaker' : a form of the ablative absolute. 'Scindere vallum' means to pull down the 'vallum' or palis-

sades ; and 'matters were now come to extremities' (resque esset jam &c). The next thing would have been the entrance of the enemy into the camp.—'tribunus' : i. 39, note.

Baculus] See ii. 25.—'primi pili' : see ii. 25.—'consilii magni' : 'a man of great judgment.'

certiores facit] 'he quickly informs the soldiers' by the centurions, whom he had summoned for that purpose ; and then his orders are expressed in the subjunctive mood.—'tela . . . exciperent' : 'catch the missiles which were sent' (c. 13, note).

6. *sui colligendi*] Like 'sui recipiendi' in c. 4, except that 'sui' is here the plural ; but even in that case the plural 'colligendorum' is not used.—'undique circumventos interficiunt' : 'they surround on all sides and kill them.' He does not say how the number of 30,000 was ascertained, but a soldier accustomed

tata fortuna, eos qui in spem potiundorum castrorum venerant undique circumventos interficiunt, et ex hominum milibus amplius **xxx**, quem numerum barbarorum ad castra venisse constabat, plus tertia parte imperfecta reliquos perterritos in fugam conjiciunt ac ne in locis quidem superioribus consistere patiuntur. Sic omnibus hostium copiis fusis armisque exutis se in castra munitionesque suas recipiunt. Quo proelio facto, quod saepius fortunam tentare Galba solebat, atque alio se in hiberna consilio venisse meminerat, aliis occurrisse rebus viderat, maxime frumenti commeatusque inopia permotus postero die omnibus ejus vici aedificiis incensis in Provinciam reverti contendit, ac nullo hoste prohibente aut iter demorante incolumem legionem in Nantuates, inde in Allobroges perduxit ibique hiemavit.

7. His rebus gestis, quum omnibus de causis Caesar pacatam Galliam existimaret, superatis Belgis, expulsis Germanis, victis in Alpibus Sedunis, atque ita inita hieme Illyricum profectus esset, quod eas quoque nationes adire et regiones cognoscere volebat, subitum bellum in Gallia coortum est. Ejus belli haec fuit causa. P. Crassus adolescens cum legione septima proximus mare Oceanum

to see men in mass on a limited piece of ground can form a pretty exact estimate of numbers.

armisque exutis] 'being bared of their arms,' they threw them away. 'Armis' is governed by 'exutis.' In v. 51 there is 'omnes armis exuit.'

atque alio &c.] 'and he recollected that he had come to his winter quarters with one intention, and had met with other things,' that is, what he did not expect. Galba retreated through the country of the Nantuates along the south side of the Lake of Geneva. (Plan I.)

Galba must have made his report to Caesar, who wrote it down in his *Commentarii*.

7. *expulsis Germanis*] He seems to allude to the defeat of Arioistus, though he mentions it after the conquest of the Belgae. Some suppose that he alludes to the Aduatuci (ii. 19),

and that he calls them Germans here, though he has not done so before. It is assumed by those who adopt this explanation that Caesar is manifestly speaking here only of the events of the year B.C. 57.—'atque ita inita,' &c.: 'and accordingly after the commencement of winter he had set out into Illyricum' (ii. 35). Caesar heard of this affair of Octodurus before he entered Illyricum; but perhaps it is not quite certain whether he heard of it before he left Gallia Transalpina, or when he had crossed the mountains into Gallia Cisalpina.

P. Crassus *adolescens*] See i. 52, and ii. 34.—'proximus mare Oceanum': 'nearest the sea, the Ocean.' Crassus among the Andes was nearer to the Atlantic than the troops which were wintering among the Turones and Carnutes (ii. 35). In i. 54 there is 'proximi Rhenum incolunt.'

in Andibus hiemarat. Is, quod in his locis inopia frumenti erat, praefectos tribunosque militum complures in finitimas civitates frumenti causa dimisit; quo in numero erat T. Terrasidius, missus in Sesuvios, M. Trebius Gallus in Curiosolitas, Q. Velanius cum T. Silio in Venetos.

8. *Hujus est civitatis longe amplissima auctoritas omnis orae maritimae regionum earum, quod et naves habent Veneti plurimas quibus in Britanniam navigare consuerunt, et scientia atque usu nauticarum rerum reliquos antecedunt, et in magno impetu maris atque apero paucis portibus interjectis, quos tenent ipsi, omnes fere qui eo mari uti consuerunt habent vectigales.* Ab his fit initium retinendi Silii atque Velanii, quod per eos suos se obsides quos Crasso deditissent reciperaturos existima-

Sesuvios] They are mentioned in ii. 34. The reading is not quite certain. If it is right, the position of the Sesuvii appears to be north of the Andes, and between them and the Lexovii.

8. *Hujus est civitatis*] These words refer to the Veneti: 'Of this state the influence is far the greatest among the countries of all the maritime tract.' The Veneti occupied the modern French department of Morbihan, and their name still exists in that of the town of Vannes, the capital of Morbihan, on the gulf of Morbihan. Here we learn that the Veneti carried on trade with Britain, from which country they would get tin, and perhaps other metals, and probably wool. The Gallic youths were sent to Britain to finish their education under the Druids; and as the great seat of Druid superstition was in the country between the Seine and the Loire, we may assume that these youths were carried in Venetian ships to the schools in the south part of Britain. The Veneti were the first of the Gallic peoples in maritime matters, and the first people known to history as possessing a navy on the coast of the Atlantic.

in magno impetu] This ablative with 'in' expresses a state of things which explains why the Veneti 'make all the people pay dues who were accustomed to navigate that sea.' The people who navigated this sea were obliged to use the ports of the Veneti, and to pay for using them. We may translate or explain 'in magno,' &c. thus: 'and as the violence of the sea in those parts is great, and the (coast) is exposed, with only a few ports at intervals (interjectis).'

Ab his fit &c.] 'By them (the Veneti) the example is set of detaining (the ambassadors) Silius and Velanius.' He first says generally the Veneti set 'the example of detaining'; and instead of saying the legati, he passes at once to the names of the two legati whom the Veneti detained. (Schneider.) The 'obsides' are not mentioned in ii. 34. There was no reason for mentioning them there, and there would have been no reason for mentioning them now, if it had not been necessary here to make the story plain. So sparing is Caesar in his words, so just is his judgment in not encumbering his book with things that are not to the purpose.

bant. Horum auctoritate finitimi adducti, ut sunt Gallorum subita et repentina consilia, eadem de causa Trebium Terrasidiumque retinent et celeriter missis legatis per suos principes inter se conjurant nihil nisi communi consilio acturos eundemque omnis fortunae exitum esse laturos; reliquaque civitates sollicitant ut in ea libertate quam a majoribus acceperant permanere quam Romanorum servitutem perferre malent. Omni ora maritima celeriter ad suam sententiam perducta, communem legationem ad P. Crassum mittunt, Si velit suos recipere, obrides sibi remittat.

9. Quibus de rebus Caesar ab Crasso certior factus, quod ipse aberat longius, naves interim longas aedificari in flumine Ligere, quod influit in Oceanum, remiges ex Provincia institui, nautas gubernatoresque comparari jubet. His rebus celeriter administratis, ipse quum primum per anni tempus potuit ad exercitum contendit. Veneti reliquaeque item civitates cognito Caesaris adventu

ut sunt Gallorum &c.] This is a common Latin form, which involves something like the notion of cause and effect, and it is expressed in the form of a comparison, as Terence has it (Andria, i. 1. 50):

‘— ita ut ingenium est omnium
Hominum ab labore proclive ad
lubidinem.’

The ‘resolutions of the Galli’ are hasty and come by surprise, and so they did now what they often did; they all at once followed the example of the Veneti. So we may translate it: ‘by their example induced the neighbouring people, as it is the nature of the Galli to embrace hasty and unexpected resolutions.’

per suos—conjurant] ‘by means of their chiefs form a combination to do nothing (nihil . . . acturos) unless by common deliberation.’—‘acceperant’: if this tense is right, Caesar affirms it as an historical fact. If we read ‘acceperint,’ it is what these people are supposed to say to the rest.

9. *Quibus de rebus Caesar—nates*

—remiges—jubet] ‘Caesar’ placed in the beginning of the sentence and the verb at the end, which is common. Caesar ‘abera longius,’ ‘was a long way off,’ or ‘too far off to do more than send orders. We may suppose that he was on the Italian side of the Alps.—‘Ligere:’ there is both Liger and Ligeris in the nominative. Caesar ordered ships of war (naves longae) to be constructed on the Loire. The wood for the ships could be floated down the river. He probably built them as low down as he could, in the territory of the Andes, which his troops occupied, and about the place where the Loire falls into the Mayenne; and perhaps also at Genabum (Orléans), which his troops held. The rowers came from the Provincia, from the towns on the Mediterranean, Marseille and others.

quum primum] ‘as soon as the season of the year allowed,’ or ‘as soon as he could for the season’ (i. 42).

Veneti—certiores facti—pro magnitudine periculi bellum parare—institunt] He says ‘the Veneti and

certiores facti, simul quod quantum in se facinus admisissent intelligebant, legatos, quod nomen ad omnes nationes sanctum inviolatumque semper fuisse, retentos a se et in vincula conjectos, pro magnitudine periculi bellum parare et maxime ea quae ad usum navium pertinent providere instituunt, hoc majore spe quod multum natura loci confidebant. Pedestria esse itinera concisa a estuariis, navigationem impeditam propter inscientiam locorum paucitatemque portuum sciebant, neque nostros exercitus propter frumenti inopiam diutius apud se morari posse confidebant; ac jam ut omnia contra opinionem acciderent, tamen se plurimum navibus posse; Romanos neque ullam facultatem habere navium neque eorum locorum ubi bellum gesturi essent, vada, portus, insulas novisse; ac longe aliam esse navigationem in concluso mari atque in

the rest of the states, Caesar's arrival being known, being fully informed (of the fact), in proportion to the magnitude of the danger, set about preparing for war.' Between these two parts of the sentence there is interposed what follows: 'at the same time knowing well (quod . . . intelligebant) what a crime they had committed in retaining (retentos a se) and throwing into chains the legati, which name of legati among (ad) all nations had always been sacred and inviolate.' In 'quod . . . intelligebant' 'quod' is properly an accusative; but we express it by our word 'because.' The 'quantum facinus' is explained by the accusatives 'legatos . . . retentos . . . conjectos.' 'Facinus in se admittere,' 'to allow crime to approach one,' means 'to commit crime.' 'Quod nomen' is one of the common forms in Caesar, the relative referring to the noun which follows it.—'hoc . . . quod.' 'for this reason with the better hope that.' Compare i. 2, 'id hoc facilius . . . quod.'

Pedestria—itinera] 'The roads by land were cut up by the a estuaria.' See ii. 28, note on 'a estuaria.' The coast of Morbihan and of the adjacent department of Finistère is broken by many gulfs and inlets.—

'ac jam ut:' 'and then (jam) even if all things (that he has mentioned as difficult or impossible) should happen contrary to their expectation, still (tamen) their chief force was in the ships.'

in concluso mari] 'in a closed sea,' the Mediterranean, the only sea that the Romans were acquainted with.—'constabat:' 'it was certain,' or 'it was the opinion;' because it was the nearest part of the coast to the Loire, except the part that belonged to the Nannetes, and the Veneti were the cause of the war.

The Nannetes are on the north side of the Loire, below the Andes, and at the mouth of the river. Their chief town is now Nantes. The Osismi were in the department of Finistère. The Lexovii were on the south side of the Seine at its mouth. Their chief place is now Lisieux. The site of the Ambiliati is unknown.

The position of the Morini has been described (ii. 4). The Diablintes were in and about the town of Mayenne, on the river Mayenne, north of the Andes. The Menapii occupied the coast of the Channel north of the Morini, and extended some distance inland.

vastissimo atque apertissimo Oceano perspiciebant. His initis consiliis oppida muniunt, frumenta ex agris in oppida comportant, naves in Venetiam, ubi Caesarem primum esse bellum gesturum constabat, quam plurimas possunt cogunt. Socios sibi ad id bellum Osismos, Lexovios, Nannetes, Ambiliatos, Morinos, Diablinteres, Menapios adsciscunt: auxilia ex Britannia quae contra eas regiones posita est arcessunt.

10. Erant haec difficultates belli gerendi quas supra ostendimus, sed multa Caesarem tamen ad id bellum incitabant: *injuriae retentorum equitum Romanorum*, rebellia facta post deditioinem, defectio datis obsidibus, tot civitatum conjuratio, in primis ne hac parte neglecta reliquae nationes sibi idem licere arbitrarentur. Itaque quum intelligeret omnes fere Gallos novis rebus studere et ad bellum mobiliter celeriterque excitari, omnes autem homines natura libertati studere et conditionem servitutis odisse, priusquam plures civitates conspirarent, partiendum sibi ac latius distribuendum exercitum putavit.

11. Itaque T. Labienum legatum in Treviros, qui proximi flumini Rheno sunt, cum equitatu mittit. Huic mandat Remos reliquos Belgas adeat atque in officio

contra eas regiones] This is not exactly true, for the Nannetes and the Veneti were not right opposite to Britain; but the Osismi and the Lexovii were. He says, 'they send for aid from Britain'; but it is not said whether it came, or what it was. It is very likely that the inhabitants of the south coast of Britain had ships, for they would hardly remain ignorant of navigation, when they were visited by the ships of the Veneti. In iv. 20 Caesar says that he knew that aid from Britain was sent to the Galli 'in almost all the Gallic wars.' This, he says, was one of his reasons for invading Britain in B.C. 55.

10. *Erant haec*] 'There were these difficulties in conducting the war which we have mentioned above' (c. 9).—'sed multa Caesarem tamen:' 'but many things still (not

withstanding).'

injuriae retentorum &c.] 'the wrong done by detaining the Roman equites.' here he tells us that the 'legati' were of equestrian rank (i. 42).—'in primis:' 'and above all other reasons this, lest if he paid no attention to this part of Gallia.'

novis rebus mobiliter celeriterque] 'were eager for change and easily and quickly stirred up to war.' 'Mobiliter' expresses the readiness with which they were moved to any change (qui mobilitate et levitate animi, ii. 1), and 'celeriter,' the passion or haste of their movement.—'partiendum:' 'that he ought to divide his force and spread it over a larger surface.'

11. *Hic mandat—adeat*] 'Ut' may be supplied. 'Mandare' means 'to give instructions.'—'in officio continet:' 'keep them to their

contineat, Germanosque, qui auxilio a Belgis arcessiti dicebantur, si per vim navibus flumen transire conentur prohibeat. P. Crassum cum cohortibus legionariis **XII**, et magno numero equitatus in Aquitaniam proficisci jubet, ne ex his nationibus auxilia in Galliam mittantur ac tantaes nationes conjungantur. Q. Titurium Sabinum legatum cum legionibus tribus in Unellos, Curiosolitas Lexoviosque mittit qui eam manum distinendam curet. D. Brutum adolescentem classi Gallicisque navibus, quas ex Pictonibus et Santonis reliquisque pacatis regionibus convenire jusserset, praeficit, et quum primum posset in Venetos proficisci jubet. Ipse eo pedestribus copiis contendit.

12. Erant ejusmodi fere situs oppidorum ut posita in extremis lingulis promontoriisque neque pedibus aditum haberent, quum ex alto se aestus incitavisset, quod his accidit semper horarum **XII** spatio, neque navibus, quod rursus minuente aestu naves in vadis afflictarentur. Ita utraque re oppidorum oppugnatio impeditabatur; ac si

duty,' to obedience. The commander provides well against an attack in his rear while he is on the coast of Venetia.—'Unellos,' &c. : see ii. 34. The Unelli were in the Cotentin. The Curiosolites had the Redones on the east, the Veneti and the Osismi on the west. The name is preserved in Corseult, which is south of St. Malo.

D. Brutum] Decimus, now a young man, who followed Caesar's fortunes, and at last was one of his assassins. The Pictones or Pictavi were on the south of the Loire, and their name existed in that of the old province Poitou. The Pictones and Santones had all the coast between the Loire and the Garonne.

12. *ejusmodi—situs—ut* 'the sites of the towns were generally such (of such a kind) that.' These towns were placed on 'small tongues,' as he calls them, and on projecting parts (promontoria); such is the Pointe de Croisic, in the department of Loire Inférieure, on which stands

the town of Le Croisic; and in the department of Morbihan there is the long peninsula of Quiberon. Both these peninsulas are insulated at high water. The French is, 'Telle était la disposition de la plupart des places de l'ennemi, que, situées à l'extrémité des langues de terre et sur des promontoires.' Kraner writes 'promontoris,' and connects it with the verb 'prominere.' Tacitus (Ann. i. 53) has 'in prominenti litoris.' But the word 'mons' (mont) may also be connected with 'prominere.'—'quod his accidit:' or 'quod iis accidit,' as some editions have it. 'His' and 'iis' are constantly confounded in the MSS., and it is often hard to determine which is right. 'His' is more emphatic. Strictly it would refer to 'oppidorum'; but it may mean 'to the people on this coast.'—'quod rursus,' &c. : 'because when the tide took the turn (rurus) and ebbed, the ships would be damaged in the shoal waters.'

quando magnitudine operis forte superati, extruso mari aggere ac molibus, atque his oppidi moenibus adaequatis, suis fortunis desperare coepabant, magno numero navium appulso, cuius rei summam facultatem habebant, sua deportabant omnia seque in proxima oppida recipiebant: ibi se rursus iisdem opportunitatibus loci defendebant. Haec eo facilius magnam partem aestatis faciebant, quod nostrae naves tempestatibus detinebantur, summaque erat vasto atque aperto mari, magnis aestibus, raris ac prope nullis portibus, difficultas navigandi.

13. Namque ipsorum naves ad hunc modum factae armataeque erant. Carinae aliquanto planiores quam nostrarum navium, quo facilius vada ac decessum aestus excipere possent; prorae admodum erectae, atque item

extruso mari] 'when the sea was kept out (of the parts flooded at high water) by mounds of earth and moles, and these being raised to the level (adaequatis) of the walls.' 'Moenibus' is the dative. — 'suis fortunis desperare:' 'fortunis' is the dative. 'Desperare' is used also with an accusative, and also with 'de' and the ablative. These imperfect tenses, 'habebant,' 'deportabant,' 'recipiebant,' express a recurrence of the same thing. There were several towns which Caesar besieged, as he says (c. 14), and the people moved off from them to the neighbouring towns, and 'there recommenced defending themselves with the advantages of position.' — 'cujus rei,' 'for doing all which.' This word 'res,' both in the singular and plural, is continually used by Caesar.

eo facilius—quod] See i. 2: 'id hoc facilius.'

summa erat—difficultas navigandi] Between these words he places the words which give the reason of the 'difficulty of the navigation' and he does it by three sets of ablatives, which may be considered to be ablatives absolute, 'as the sea was of immense extent and open, the tides high, and the ports few, indeed (ac) scarcely any.'

13. *ipsorum*] 'their ships,' but 'ipsorum' is more emphatic than 'their.' We should say 'the ships of the Veneti.' The ships had flatter keels than the Roman, 'in order that they might more easily meet (excipere) the shoals and the ebb of the sea.' The ebb would leave them on dry land, which might be said to 'receive' (excipere) the ships; but he makes the ships receive or meet the dry land. 'Excipere' means, as Kraner says, 'to receive something that comes,' as in iv. 17 and in iii. 5. *admodum erectae*] 'raised very high,' for 'admodum' means completely, to the full measure of any prow. — 'contumeliam:' 'blows of the waves.' The 'transtra,' or 'cross beams,' were beams a foot thick, or, as Caesar has it, 'of foot-thick in depth beams.' They went across the vessels and held the sides together. — 'ancorae:' they used chains for cables instead of hemp ropes; and this old fashion of the Veneti has come into use again in the present century. The 'ancorae' were 're-vinctae,' 'held fast,' not 'vinctae.' See i. 53, 'vinctus.' — 'pellies:' skins with the hair on, and tanned hides (alutae) made thin, were used instead of the 'carbasa' or 'linteavela' of the Italians. Caesar does not say that the Veneti were not

puppes ad magnitudinem fluctuum tempestatumque accommodatae; naves totae factae ex robore ad quamvis vim et contumeliam preferendam; transtra pedalibus in altitudinem trabibus confixa clavis ferreis digiti pollicis crassitudine; ancorae pro funibus ferreis catenis revinctae; pelles pro velis alutaeque tenuiter confectae, sive propter lini inopiam atque ejus usus inscientiam, sive eo, quod est magis verisimile, quod tantas tempestates Oceani tantosque impetus ventorum sustineri ac tanta onera navium regi velis non satis commode posse arbitrabantur. Cum his navibus nostrae classi ejusmodi congressus erat ut una celeritate et pulsu remorum praestaret, reliqua pro loci natura, pro vi tempestatum illis essent aptiora et accommodatiora. Neque enim his nostrae rostro nocere poterant, tanta in his erat firmitudo, neque propter altitudinem facile telum adjiciebatur, et eadem de causa minus commode copulis continebantur. Accedebat ut, quum saevire ventus coepisset et se vento dedissent, et tempestatem ferrent facilius et in vadis consistenter tutius et ab aestu relictae nihil saxa et cautes timerent; quarum rerum omnium nostris navibus casus erat extimescendum.

14. Compluribus expugnatis oppidis, Caesar, ubi intellexit frustra tantum laborem sumi neque hostium fugam captis oppidis reprimi neque his noceri posse, statuit ex-

acquainted with the use of flax (linum), but he supposes that linen sails were not strong enough for the tempests of the Atlantic Ocean.

nostrae classi ejusmodi—ut] Here, again, we have ‘eiusmodi . . . ut,’ the same as ‘talis . . . ut’ (see c. 12): ‘with these ships (of the Veneti) an engagement by our fleet was on such terms that ours had the advantage,’ &c.

pro loci natura] See i. 1, note on ‘pro.’—‘minus commode,’ &c.: ‘less easily could they be held by the grapping irons.’

Accedebat ut . . . et tempestatem ferrent facilius] Here ‘accedebat’ is followed by ‘ut’ and a subjunctive. We may say, ‘In addition to this . . . they both stood the bad

weather more easily.’ Then he places between ‘accedebat ut’ and ‘et tempestatem’ the words, ‘when the wind had begun to blow hard, and the (Venetian) ships sailed before it,’ or, as he expresses it, ‘had given themselves to the wind.’—‘quarum rerum,’ &c.: ‘while the risk (casus) of all these things our ships had to fear.’

14. *his noceri posse]* ‘and that no harm could be done to them (his),’ the enemy; for when one town was taken they went to another. He determined to wait for his fleet, which must mean the rest of his fleet; for the Romans had tried the enemy before, as this chapter shows, and c. 13.

spectandam classem. Quae ubi convenit ac primum ab hostibus visa est, circiter *cxxx* naves eorum paratissimae atque omni genere armorum ornatissimae profectae ex portu nostris adversae constiterunt; neque satis Bruto qui classi praeerat, vel tribunis militum centurionibusque quibus singulae naves erant attributae, constabat quid agerent aut quam rationem pugnae insisterent. Rostro enim noceri non posse cognoverant; turribus autem excitatis tamen has altitudo puppium ex barbaris navibus superabat, ut neque ex inferiore loco satis commode tela adjici possent et missa ab Gallis gravius acciderent. Una erat magno usui res praeparata a nostris, falces praeacutae, insertae adfixaeque longuriis, non absimili forma murlatum falcium. His quum funes, qui antemnas ad malos destinabant, comprehensi adductique erant, navigio remis incitato praerumpabantur. Quibus abscisio antemnae necessario concidebant ut, quum omnis Gallicis navibus spes in velis armamentisque consisteret, his erexit omnis usus navium uno tempore eriperetur. Reliquum erat certamen positum in virtute, qua nostri milites facile

neque satis Bruto . . . constabat] 'neither Brutus, nor the tribuni and centurions were quite certain what to do, or what plan of battle to rely on (insisterent).' 'Neque' is sometimes followed by 'et,' but 'vel' after 'neque' is unusual.

turribus—excitatis] 'if towers were raised (on the decks of the Roman ships), still these towers the height of the sterns (ex) of the Gallic ships overtopped, and (so far) that' &c. 'Turribus excitatis' means, if the Romans raised 'turrets' on the decks, which they did not do, because it would have been a useless labour, as he tells us. He says, 'ex barbaris navibus,' which is more emphatic than if he had put this in the genitive.

Una erat . . . res] This must be translated 'one thing was very useful (which had been) prepared by our men;' pieces of iron curved, like a sickle, and sharp at the end, fixed to long poles, not unlike the

'falces murales,' or hooks used for pulling down breastworks. The expression 'non absimili,' &c. seems irregular, but he means to say, 'of a form not unlike the form of murales falces.'

destinabant] 'by these (hooks) when the ropes which fixed down (destinabant) the yards to the masts were seized and drawn towards (the men who used the falces), the vessel being then put in motion, they (the ropes) were cut off.'

antemnae—concidebant ut—omnis usus navium—eriperetur] 'the yards all fell down, and the consequence was that when they (the yards) were gone, all use of their ships at the same time was taken from them.' 'Concidebant' means, fell all down in a heap. He places between the beginning and end of the sentence these words, which explain why the destruction of the rigging rendered the Venetian ships useless.

superabant, atque eo magis quod in conspectu Caesaris atque omnis exercitus res gerebatur ut nullum paulo fortius factum latere posset; omnes enim colles ac loca superiora, unde erat propinquus despectus in mare, ab exercitu tenebantur.

15. Disjectis ut diximus antemnis, quum singulas binae ac ternae naves circumsteterant, milites summa vi transcendere in hostium naves contendebant. Quod postquam barbari fieri animadverterunt, expugnatis compluribus navibus, quum ei rei nullum reperiretur auxilium, fuga salutem petere contenderunt; ac jam conversis in eam partem navibus quo ventus ferebat, tanta subito malacia ac tranquillitas exstitit ut se ex loco commovere non possent. Quae quidem res ad negotium conficiendum maxime fuit opportuna; nam singulas nostri consecutati expugnaverunt ut per paucae ex omni numero noctis interventu ad terram pervenerint, quum ab hora fere quarta usque ad solis occasum pugnaretur.

16. Quo proelio bellum Venetorum totiusque orae maritimae confectum est. Nam quum omnis juventus, omnes etiam gravioris aetatis, in quibus aliquid consilii aut dignitatis fuit, eo convenerant, tum navium quod ubique fuerat in unum locum coegerant: quibus amissis reliqui neque quo se reciperent neque quemadmodum oppida defenderent habebant. Itaque se suaque omnia Caesar dediderunt. In quos eo gravius Caesar vindi-

unde] 'Unde' refers to 'colles ac loca superiora,' and is equivalent to a preposition and a relative, 'e quibus.'

15. *singulas binae*] 'two and three Roman ships had got round each ship of the enemy.' See i. 6, note on 'singuli.'

ei rei] after Caesar's fashion, refers to 'expugnatis compluribus navibus.' — 'malacia:' calmness, a Greek word. Caesar means a sea quite calm or smooth, as we see sometimes when there is no wind. We infer from the story, as Krämer says, that the Venetian ships had no oars.

Quae quidem res] again, 'which circumstance, indeed.' — 'nam sin-

gulas,' &c.: 'for our men pursued and took each ship severally, so that very few.' The battle was fought in spring. If it was fought at the equinox, the fight lasted from about ten in the morning to six in the evening. See i. 12, note.

16. *gravioris aetatis, &c.*] 'of riper age, who had any reputation for judgment and any rank.' — 'navium quod ubique:' 'all the ships that they had any where,' 'navium' depending on 'quod.' — 'reliqui:' 'those who did not perish in the fight had neither any place of refuge (quo se reciperent), nor any means of defending their towns.'

In quos—vindicandum] 'Vindi-

candum statuit, quo diligentius in reliquum tempus a barbaris jus legatorum conservaretur. Itaque omni senatu necato reliquos sub corona vendidit.

17. Dum haec in Venetis geruntur, Q. Titurius Sabinus cum his copiis quas a Caesare acceperat in fines Unellorum pervenit. His praeerat Viridovix ac summam imperii tenebat earum omnium civitatum quae defecerant, ex quibus exercitum magnasque copias coegerat; atque his paucis diebus Aulerci Eburovices Lexoviique senatu suo interfecto, quod auctores belli esse nolebant, portas clauerunt seque cum Viridovice conjunxerunt; magnaque praeterea multitudo undique ex Gallia perditorum hominum latronumque convenerat, quos spes praedandi studiumque bellandi ab agricultura et quotidiano labore revo-
cabat. Sabinus idoneo omnibus rebus loco castris se

care' means to claim the ownership of a thing, to claim and maintain a right; and hence 'vindicare in aliquem,' 'to claim against a person,' comes to signify to take vengeance on him, to punish him.—'eo... quo' means 'to the end... that.' See i. 36, note on 'jus.' He put to death all the senate, all the men who formed the 'concilium' of the Veneti, and he sold the rest, all the survivors, as slaves. It was an old Roman fashion to sell captives with a 'corona,' or chaplet on their head. The mercatores would buy these slaves, as on another occasion (ii. 33). Caesar depopulated the country of the Veneti. He sold all that he could lay his hands on. When the Galli rose against him in b.c. 52, all the Armorican states sent only six thousand men to the relief of Alesia. Caesar completely destroyed the only Gallic naval power, and the Veneti gave him no more trouble.

17. *summam imperii—earum*] 'the supreme command over all those states.' Compare i. 41. He had got together a regular army, and many men (magnas copias) besides.

Aulerci Eburovices] This branch of the Aulerci, called Aulerci Eburovices, was situated south of the

Seine. The name Eburovices exists in Evreux, the chief town of the department of Euré. 'His paucis diebus' refers to 'pervenit,' and means within a few days after Sabinus reached the country of the Unelli. See c. 23.

These men murdered the senate, because they would not give their consent to the war (quod auctores, &c.) 'Auctor' is one who ratifies and gives completeness to a thing; and sometimes also one who originates a thing. It is a Roman form of expression.

revocabat] There were desperate men (perditi) and robbers all over Gallia, whom the 'hope of plunder and eagerness for war ever drew off (revocabat) from agriculture.' 'Revocare,' 'to call back,' means also to call away from any right or regular course. (See i. 10, note.)

Sabinus idoneo] A kind of ablative absolute. It means, 'Sabinus, having a position in all respects suitable, kept in his camp.'—'duum milium spatio:' 'at the distance of two miles.' See i. 41.—'ut jam... veniret.' These words refer to 'castris se tenebat.'—'vocibus... carperetur:' 'was blamed by the soldiers in their talk.' As to 'voces,' see i. 39.

tenebat, quum Viridovix contra eum duum milium spatio consedisset quotidieque productis copiis pugnandi potestatem faceret, ut jam non solum hostibus in contumitionem Sabinus veniret, sed etiam nostrorum militum vocibus nonnihil carperetur; tantamque opinionem timoris praebuit ut jam ad vallum castrorum hostes accedere audenter. Id ea de causa faciebat, quod cum tanta multitudine hostium, praesertim eo absente qui summam imperii teneret, nisi aequo loco aut opportunitate aliqua data legato dimicandum non existimabat.

18. Hac confirmata opinione timoris idoneum quendam hominem et callidum delegit, Gallum, ex his quos auxilii causa secum habebat. Huic magnis praemiis pollicitationibusque persuadet uti ad hostes transeat, et quid fieri velit edocet. Qui ubi pro perfuga ad eos venit, timorem Romanorum proponit, quibus angustiis ipse Caesar a Venetis prematur docet, neque longius abesse quin proxima nocte Sabinus clam ex castris exercitum educat et ad Caesarem auxilii ferendi causa proficiscatur. Quod ubi auditum est, conclamant omnes occasionem negotii bene gerendi amittendam non esse, ad castra iri oportere. Multae res ad hoc consilium Gallos hortabantur: superiorum dierum Sabini cunctatio, perfugae confirmatio, inopia cibariorum, cui rei parum diligenter ab iis erat provisum, spes Venetici belli, et quod fere libenter homines id quod volunt credunt. His rebus adducti non prius Viridovicem reliquosque duces ex concilio dimittunt quam

ea de causa—quod] Here 'quod' refers to 'ea de causa.' See i. 16, note on 'propterea . . . quod.' In i. 14 there is 'eo . . . quod.'

aequo loco] 'on favourable ground, or at least some good opportunity presenting itself,' as it did.

18. *Gallum]* A Gaul helped to deceive his countrymen. All through the war there were Gauls who sold themselves to the Romans (ii. 3). This Gallus was 'ex his,' &c., 'one of the auxiliaries.'—'pro perfuga:' 'as a deserter.' So in i. 22, 'pro viso.'—'timorem . . . proponit:' 'he informs them of the alarm of the Romans,' as in i. 17, 'quod antea

tacuerat proponit.'

neque longius abesse quin &c.] 'and he said it would not be longer than the next night before Sabinus would secretly take his troops from the camp.' 'Abesse' with 'longe' is followed by 'quin' and the subjunctive. Here there is a comparative (*longius*) on which 'proxima nocte' depends.—'ad castra iri oportere:' 'they ought to march to the camp.'

cas rei—provisum] 'Cui rei' another instance of 'res,' referring to several words, 'inopia cibariorum,' 'against which they had not provided with much care.'

ab his sit concessum arma uti capiant et ad castra contendant. Qua re concessa laeti ut explorata victoria sarmentis virgultisque collectis quibus fossas Romanorum compleant ad castra pergunt.

19. Locus erat castrorum editus et paulatim ab imo acclivis circiter passus mile. Huc magno cursu contenderunt ut quam minimum spatii ad se colligendos armandosque Romanis daretur, exanimatique pervenerunt. Sabinus suos hortatus cupientibus signum dat. Impeditis hostibus propter ea quae ferebant onera subito duabus portis eruptionem fieri jubet. Factum est opportunitate loci, hostium inscientia ac defatigatione, virtute militum et superiorum pugnarum exercitatione, ut ne unum quidem nostrorum impetum ferrent ac statim terga vertarent. Quos impeditos integris viribus milites nostri consecuti magnum numerum eorum occiderunt; reliquos equites consecutati paucos qui ex fuga evaserant reliquerunt. Sic uno tempore et de navali pugna Sabinus et de Sabini victoria Caesar est certior factus, civitatesque omnes se statim Titurio dediderunt. Nam ut ad bella suscipienda Gallorum alacer ac promptus est animus, sic

concessum arma uti capiant] 'permission was given them to take their arms.' See i. 28, note on 'concessit.'—'ut explorata:' 'rejoicing as in a certain victory.' They got together cuttings of trees (sarmenta) and brushwood, which they made into fascines, 'to fill up the Roman ditches with.'

19. *Huc*] 'Hither,' to the 'locus . . . castrorum,' the encampment ground of the Romans.—'ad se colligendos,' 'to form in mass,' in due order.—'exanimati:' 'out of breath.'

duabus portis] The Romans got out by the gates on the right and left of the camp. The Galli coming up the hill would first reach the front of the camp, and attempt to fill up the ditch there. Part of the troops would defend the rampart, while the rest moved out by each side of the camp, and attacked the enemy's flank. Thus the enemy

were resisted in front and attacked on each flank at the same time. The manoeuvre was good, and successful.—'factum est . . . ut ne unum quidem . . . ferrent:' 'the result was, that owing to the advantage of position, &c., the enemy did not stand even a single onset by our men.' See i. 2, note on 'his rebus fiebat.'

Quos impeditos—magnum numerum eorum] Comp. i. 12, 'Eos impeditos . . . magnam partem eorum concidit.' There he begins the sentence with 'eos,' here with 'quos.'—'reliquos equites:' 'the rest the cavalry following close after, left (alive) few of those who had escaped from the route.' The Gallic cavalry, for Caesar, as it has been said before, had no other.

animus] 'Animus' is the 'spirit,' 'temper,' and the like; that which marks a man's passion, his readiness to begin a fight. The 'mens' is the solid rational part, the understand-

mollis ac minime resistens ad calamitates perferendas
mens eorum est.

20. Eodem fere tempore P. Crassus, quum in Aquitaniam pervenisset, quae pars, ut ante dictum est, et regionum latitudine et multitudine hominum ex *tertia* parte Galliae est aestimanda, quum intelligeret in his locis sibi bellum gerendum, ubi paucis ante annis L. Valerius Praeconinus legatus exercitu pulso interfectus esset, atque unde L. Manilius proconsul impedimentis amissis profugisset, non mediocrem sibi diligentiam adhibendam intelligebat. Itaque re frumentaria provisa, auxiliis equitatuque comparato, multis praeterea viris fortibus Tolosa, Carcasone, et Narbone, quae sunt civitates Galliae Provinciae finitimae, ex his regionibus nominatim evocatis, in Sotiatum fines exercitum introduxit. Cujus adventu cognito Sotiates magnis copiis coactis equitatuque quo

ing, judgment, and will, which save a man when the fight has begun and the danger is near. These Galli were not well enough disciplined to recover after they were broken. (See i. 39.) Caesar says that 'as the temper of the Galli is excitable and ready to take up arms, so their resolution is feeble, and has little resisting force for enduring defeat.'

The Roman writers speak of the desperate onset of the Galli, and their feeble efforts after the first attack. In the beginning of a fight they are more than men, at the end less than women. (Livy, x. 28.)

20. *ex tertia parte*] 'both on account of the extent of the countries comprised in it) and the population, Aquitania must be reckoned as a third part of Gallia.' a third division, not a third part exactly. He certainly does not mean to say that it was as large as the country of the Celtae or of the Belgae.—'P. Crassus... intelligebat' : between the nominative and the verb (intelligebat) he places, as usual, several explanatory clauses, 'quum pervenisset,' 'having arrived in Aquitania'; 'quum intelligeret,' 'being well aware.'

Praeconinus was a legatus of the

proconsul of Gallia Ulterior, L. Manilius Nepos, who had fled before the Aquitani, and lost his baggage in the time of Sertorius, B.C. 78. See c. 23.

re frumentaria] 'after providing his supplies of food,' after Caesar's example. — 'multis,' &c. : 'many resolute men besides of Tolosa, Carcaso, and Narbo, which are states of the Provincia Gallia, bordering (on Aquitania), being summoned by name from these parts.' — 'viris...' 'Tolosa' means 'men of Toulouse,' Tolosa being the ablative.—'nominatim' means that the men were summoned by name, and their names were on the muster rolls. Carcaso is Carcasonne, between Toulouse and (Narbo) Narbonne, and on the Atax (Aude).

Sotiates] Crassus advanced from the north, and crossed the Garonne. The first people he came to were the Sotiates, whose name is preserved in Soe, a place in the department of Gers.—'in itinere agmen nostrum adorci' : 'attacking our force on the march.' If he had said 'agmen' alone, it would have meant the same, for 'agmen' is a body of men in motion (ii. 17. 19). In i. 51, Caesar

plurimum valebant in itinere agmen nostrum adorti pri-
mum equestre proelium commiserunt, deinde equitatu suo
pulso atque insequentibus nostris subito pedestres copias
quas in convalle in insidiis collocaverant ostenderunt. Hi
nostros disjectos adorti proelium renovarunt.

21. Pugnatum est diu atque acriter, quum Sotiates
superioribus victoriis freti in sua virtute totius Aqui-
taniae salutem positam putarent, nostri autem quid sine
imperatore et sine reliquis legionibus adolescentulo duce
efficere possent perspici cuperent: tandem confecti vul-
neribus hostes terga vertere. Quorum magno numero
interfecto Crassus ex itinere oppidum Sotiatum oppug-
nare coepit. Quibus fortiter resistentibus, vineas turre-
que egit. Illi alias eruptione tentata, alias cuniculis ad
aggerem vineasque actis, cuius rei sunt longe peritissimi
Aquitani, propterea quod multis locis apud eos aerariae
structurae sunt, ubi diligentia nostrorum nihil his rebus
profici posse intellexerunt, legatos ad Crassum mittunt
seque in deditioinem ut recipient petunt. Qua re impe-
trata arma tradere jussi faciunt.

22. Atque in ea re omnium nostrorum intentis animis,
alia ex parte oppidi Adcantuannus, qui summam imperii
tenebat, cum *devotis*, quos illi soldurios appellant,

advanced to the German camp
'instructa acie:' he moved forward
in order of battle. Here Crassus
was marching not 'acie instructa.'
He did not expect to be attacked.—
'hi nostros.' 'hi' refers to 'pedes-
tres copias.'

21. *superioribus*] Over Praeconinus and Manilius (c. 20).—'quid . . .
efficere possent perspici cuperent:'
'wishing to show (perspici) what
they could do.' In Latin, however,
it is the passive, 'to be seen' (per-
spici).

ex itinere] See i. 25.—'vineas
turreque:' ii. 12 and 30.—'cuni-
culis:' mines, subterranean galleries
which they made, in order to get
below the Roman 'vineae' and
mounds.—'cuius rei:' his usual
form of expression in such a case.—
'aerariae structurae:' 'substructions

for copper mines.' Perhaps he means
the shafts and galleries made in
looking for the ore, and the construc-
tions of timber used to prevent the
earth from falling in.—'ubi diligen-
tia, &c. : 'when they saw that owing
to our men's care no advantage was
gained by all this (his rebus).' Arms
were given up as usual (ii. 13).—'in
deditioinem.' See i. 27, note.

22. *devotis*] 'men who devoted
themselves.' What follows explains
his meaning. The Aquitanians
named them 'soldurii' which is
probably an Iberian or Basque word.
After 'appellant' he runs on in a
long clause 'quorum haec est condi-
tio . . . recusaret,' in which he ex-
plains what these 'soldurii' were.
He begins again, 'cum his Adcan-
tuannus,' repeating the chieftain's
name, for if he did not, the nomi-

quorum haec est conditio ut omnibus in vita commodis una cum his fruantur quorum se amicitiae dediderint, si quid his per vim accidat, aut eundem casum una ferant aut sibi mortem conciscant; neque adhuc hominum memoria repertus est quisquam qui eo imperfecto cuius se amicitiae devovisset, mortem recusaret: cum his Adcantuannus eruptionem facere conatus, clamore ab ea parte munitionis sublato, quum ad arma milites concurrisserent vehementerque ibi pugnatum esset, repulsus in oppidum tamen uti eadem deditiois conditione uteretur ab Crasso impetravit.

23. Armis obesidibusque acceptis Crassus in fines Vocatum et Tarusatium profectus est. Tum vero barbari commoti, quod oppidum et natura loci et manu munitum paucis diebus quibus eo ventum erat expugnatum cognoverant, legatos quoquoversum dimittere, conjurare, obesides inter se dare, copias parare coeperunt. Mittuntur etiam ad eas civitates legati, quae sunt citerioris Hispaniae finitimae Aquitaniae: inde auxilia ducesque arcessuntur.

native Adcantuannus at the beginning of the sentence would be too far removed from the verb 'impetravit,' which is at the end of the chapter.

haec est conditio ut — fruantur] 'whose condition is this, that they enjoy all the good things in life together with those.' — 'si quid . . . accidat:' a way of saying 'if they come to a violent end.' 'Ferant' and 'consciscant' depend on 'haec est conditio ut.' Comp. i. 4, note on 'consciverit.' — 'hominum memoria:' 'within man's memory.' — 'quisquam qui . . . recusaret:' 'any one who refused to die,' or 'any one to shrink from death.'

ab ea parte munitionis] 'on' or 'at that part of the Roman lines,' where Adcantuannus attempted to break out. The shout was the signal for the Roman soldiers to run to their arms. — 'tamen uti . . . uteretur . . . impetravit:' 'still (notwithstanding his treachery) he succeeded in obtaining (uteretur) the same terms of surrender as before.'

23. Vocatum] This name occurs

only in Caesar, but the Vocates are probably the people whom Ptolemy calls Vasates, whose chief place was Cossio (Bazas) in the department of Gironde. — 'barbari commoti . . . dimittere, &c. . . cooperunt:' 'they were alarmed (commoti):' — 'quod oppidum . . . expugnatum cognoverant.' Caesar might have said 'eo commoti quod,' but the 'eo' is often omitted. Compare the use of 'commoti' in i. 13. — 'paucis diebus quibus:' 'within a few days after his arrival.' The ablative 'paucis diebus' marks the interval between the arrival and the capture, and the relative 'quibus' is put in the same case as 'paucis diebus.' See c. 17.

conjurare] See ii. 1. — 'quae sunt citerioris:' 'which are in nearer Spain (and) bordering on Aquitania.' Hispania Citerior, also named Tarraconensis, from the town of Tarraco, was at this period the country between the Pyrenees and the river Iberus (Ebro). — 'magna cum auctoritate:' 'with opinion greatly in their favour.'

Quorum adventu magna cum auctoritate et magna cum hominum multitudine bellum gerere conantur. Duces vero ii diliguntur qui una cum Q. Sertorio omnes annos fuerant summamque scientiam rei militaris habere existimabantur. Hi consuetudine populi Romani loca capere, castra munire, commeatibus nostros intercludere instituunt. Quod ubi Crassus animadvertisit suas copias propter exiguitatem non facile diduci, hostem et vagari et vias obsidere et castris satis praesidii relinquere, ob eam causam minus comamode frumentum commeatumque sibi supportari, in dies hostium numerum augeri, non cunctandum existimavit quin pugna decertaret. Hac re ad consilium delata, ubi omnes idem sentire intellexit, posserunt diem pugnae constituit.

24. Prima luce productis omnibus copiis, duplii acie instituta, auxiliis in medium aciem conjectis, quid hostes consilii caperent exspectabat. Illi, etsi propter multitu-

Q. Sertorius] This brave Roman general had maintained himself in Spain about eight years (B.C. 80—72) against the arms of Rome, and under him the Spaniards had learned the art of war. He was assassinated.

loca capere—instaurare] 'they introduce the fashion of choosing ground for encampment.' 'Loca capere' means to select positions, and ground to encamp on. In ii. 17 he says, 'qui locum idoneum castris diligent.' The Galli at last learned this (vii. 30).

Quod ubi Crassus] 'Quod' is the accusative; 'and when Crassus saw this;' and what he saw is expressed by the several accusatives with the infinitive.—'suas . . . non facile di- duci': 'that his own troops, owing to the smallness of their numbers, were not easily (without danger) led to various parts, that the enemy was both spreading about (vagari) and was stopping up (obsidere) the roads, and (still) was leaving men enough to protect their camp,' &c.—'suppor- tari': compare c. 8.—'cunctandum quin . . . decertaret': like 'dubi- tandum quin' with a subjunctive.

Hac re] 'All this (hac re) being

laid before (delata) a council of war.'

Crassus was in a difficulty. The enemy were more numerous than he was. They had a camp fortified in Roman fashion, they scoured all the country, they occupied the roads, they cut off all supplies from the Romans, and their number was daily increasing. If he stood still, he was starved; if he retreated, he had a superior force at his heels. There remained nothing except to fight.

24. *duplii acie]* 'in two lines'; because his force was small. Caesar (i. 24) had a 'triplex acies' to oppose the mass of the Helvetii. He put the 'auxilia,' wherever they were, in the centre, because, as the history shows, he could not trust them.

Illi, etsi—tamen—arbitrabantur] 'Tamen' corresponds to 'etsi.' These men began to know something of war; that a campaign is something more than a battle.—'etsi . . . esse re- cipere coepissent': the pluperfect, as usual in such a form. 'We say,' if they should begin to retreat,' but it means 'after they had begun to re- treat.'—'sub sarcinis.' See ii. 17.

dinem et veterem belli gloriam paucitatemque nostrorum se tuto dimicatuos existimabant, tamen tutius esse arbitrabantur, obcessis viis, commeatu intercluso, sine ullo vulnere victoria potiri, et si propter inopiam rei frumentariae Romani sese recipere coepissent, impeditos in agmine et sub sarcinis infirmiore animo adoriri cogitabant. Hoc consilio probato ab ducibus, productis Romanorum copiis, sese castris tenebant. Hac re perspecta, Crassus, quum sua cunctatione atque opinione timidiiores hostes nostros milites alacriores ad pugnandum effecissent, atque omnium voces audirentur exspectari diutius non oportere quin ad castra iretur, cohortatus suos omnibus cupientibus ad hostium castra contendit.

25. Ibi quum alii fossas complerent, alii multis telis conjectis defensores vallo munitionibusque depellerent, auxiliaresque, quibus ad pugnam non multum Crassus confidebat, lapidibus telisque subministrandis et ad aggerem cespitibus comportandis speciem atque opinionem pugnantium preebent, quum item ab hostibus constanter ac non timide pugnaretur, telaque ex loco superiore missa non frustra acciderent, equites circumitis hostium castris Crasso renuntiaverunt non eadem esse diligentia ab decumana porta castra munita facilemque aditum habere.

26. Crassus equitum praefectos cohortatus ut magnis

quum sua—hostes] 'by their backwardness and by the opinion (of our men) that they were alarmed.' He says (c. 17), 'tantaque opinionem timoris preebuit.' Some editions have 'timoris' in this passage, for 'timidiiores,' which is a needless alteration. The word is plainly opposed to 'alacriores.'

exspectari diutius, &c.] 'there ought to be no longer any delay about attacking the camp.' 'Exspectari,' one of the infinitive forms like 'iri oportere,' c. 18.

25. *Ibi quum*] This part of the sentence beginning with 'quum' extends to 'non frustra acciderent.'

auxiliaresque] 'and the auxiliaries, in whom Crassus had no great con-

fidence for the fight, by supplying (subministrandis) stones and missiles, and carrying turf for the agger (to fill up the ditch), presented the show of fighters, and made the enemy think they were fighting.'

'Some horsemen who had gone round the enemy's camp (circumitis castris), reported to Crassus that it was not defended 'on the side where the porta decumana was (ab decumana porta) with the same care (as elsewhere).' The men had made a camp all in Roman fashion (c. 28).

26. *Crassus*] 'Crassus having urged the praefecti equitum to rouse their men by great rewards and offers.' Rewards (praemia) are something given immediately, nor can we here

praemiis pollicitationibusque suos excitarent, quid fieri vellet ostendit. Illi, ut erat imperatum, eductis iv cohortibus, quae praesidio castris relictæ intritæ ab labore erant, et longiore itinere circumductis ne ex hostium castris conspici possent, omnium oculis mentibusque ad pugnam intentis, celeriter ad eas quas diximus munitiones pervenerunt, atque his perruptis prius in hostium castris constiterunt quam plane ab his videri aut quid rei gereretur cognosci posset. Tum vero clamore ab ea parte auditu nostri redintegratis viribus, quod plerumque in spe victoriae accidere consuevit, acrius impugnare coeperunt. Hostes undique circumventi, desperatis omnibus rebus, se per munitiones dejicere et fuga salutem petere intenderunt. Quos equitatus apertissimis campis consecutatus, ex milium L numero, quae ex Aquitania Cantabrisque convenisse constabat, vix quarta parte reicta, multa nocte se in castra recepit.

27. Hac audita pugna, maxima pars Aquitaniae sese Crasso dedidit obsidesque ultro misit; quo in numero

interpret it 'by the hope of rewards,' for he adds a word which expresses the future rewards (pollicitationibus).

Ili . . . ad eas . . . munitiones per venerunt] 'Intritae' is an emendation. The MSS. have 'interitae' or 'interritae,' neither of which words suits the sense. 'Intritae ab labore,' is 'not exhausted by toil.' The 'munitiones' which he has mentioned is the back part of the camp (c. 25). — 'prior . . . constiterunt quam . . . cognosci posset:' 'they were in the camp before they could be seen by the enemy, or they could know what was going on.' We may supply 'possent' after 'videri'; and 'quid rei gereretur' may be taken as the nominative to 'posset.'

impugnare] Hearing the shout in the rear, the shout of the Romans who had got into the camp, and the shout of the enemies too, which showed that their rear was attacked, 'our men began to assault the camp more furiously,' the front of the camp.

intenderunt] 'made an effort,' did

their best, to save themselves by flight.

The superior discipline of the Romans won the battle. These men should not have been beaten, because four cohorts attacked them in the rear; but not being so practised in military movements as the Romans, they were surprised, frightened, and beaten.

apertissimis campis] In the very wide plains which lie south of the Garonne. Crassus was either in the department of the Gironde, or in the department of Les Landes, a level country, one of the most dismal tracts in Europe. The Cantabri were a Spanish people who inhabited a part of the north of Spain, the mountainous tract which borders the bay of Biscay. They were one of the last Spanish tribes that the Romans conquered.—'multa nocte': i. 22.

27. *ultra]* See i. 42.—'quo in numero:' 'quo' refers grammatically to 'numero'; but in meaning to 'maxima pars.'

The Tarbelli were on the coast of

fuerunt Tarbelli, Bigerriones, Preciani, Vocates, Taruates, Elusates, Garites, Ausci, Garumni, Sibuzates, Cocosates. Paucae ultimae nationes anni tempore confisae, quod hiems suberat, hoc facere neglexerunt.

28. Eodem fere tempore Caesar, etsi prope exacta jam aetas erat, tamen quod omni Gallia pacata Morini Menapiique supererant qui in armis essent neque ad eum umquam legatos de pace misissent, arbitratus id bellum celeriter confici posse eo exercitum adduxit; qui longe alia ratione ac reliqui Galli bellum gerere coeperunt. Nam quod intelligebant maximas nationes quae proelio contendissent pulsas superatasque esse, continentesque silvas ac paludes habebant, eo se suaque omnia contulerunt. Ad quarum initium silvarum quum Caesar pervenisset castaque munire instituisset, neque hostis interim visus esset, dispersis in opere nostris subito ex omnibus partibus silvae evolaverunt et in nostros impetum fecerunt. Nostri celeriter arma ceperunt eosque in silvas reppulerunt, et

Aquitania and in the lower basin of the Aturis (Adour). Their chief place was Aquae Tarbellicae (Dax), where there are hot springs. The name of the Bigerriones is preserved in Bigorre, a country at the foot of the Pyrenees. The Elusates were between the Sotiates on the north and the Ausci on the south. The chief place of the Elusates was Elusa (Eause); and the name of the town of Auch, on the Gers, a branch of the Garonne, contains the name of the Ausci. The Cocosates had a capital Cocosca (Causseque or Cuillic), on the road from Dax to Bordeaux, and in the southern part of Les Landes, where the people are still called Cousiots. The position of the other tribes which are mentioned is doubtful or unknown. All Aquitania yielded except a few, the remotest tribes, those furthest from Crassus. He means those in the higher valleys of the Pyrenees, as we further learn from the remark, 'because the winter was approaching' (quod hiems suberat), when the Romans would not be able to

get at them.

28. *Caesar—arbitratus—adduxit*] His usual form of a sentence when he has something to say as an introduction to the principal verb (which here is 'adduxit').—'Morini Menapiique supererunt qui in armis essent:' the only people that remained in arms were the Morini and Menapii. We have no other way of dealing with such a form. The chief verb is the indicative (supererant); the other verbs, 'essent,' 'misissent,' are subordinate. He is not speaking of the Morini and Menapii being in arms, but he says that the people still under arms were the Morini and Menapii. —'eo:' 'thither,' refers to 'Morini Menapiique.' —'quod intelligebant:' 'knowing.' 'Quod' is properly the accusative after 'intelligebant,' of which there have been several examples, and 'maximas nationes,' &c., in the same case explain it (c. 9, note).—'quae proelio contendissent:' 'though they had fought,' or 'after making an effort to resist.' —'dispersis in opere:' they were working at the entrenchments of their camp.

compluribus interfectis longius impeditioribus locis securi paucos ex suis deperdiderunt.

29. Reliquis deinceps diebus Caesar silvas caedere instituit, et ne quis inermibus imprudentibusque militibus ab latere impetus fieri posset, omnem eam materiam quae erat caesa conversam ad hostem collocabat et pro vallo ad utrumque latus extruebat. Incredibili celeritate magno spatio paucis diebus confecto, quum jam pecus atque extrema impedimenta ab nostris tenerentur, ipsi densiores silvas peterent, ejusmodi sunt tempestates consecutae uti opus necessario intermitteretur, et continuatione imbrium diutius sub pellibus milites contineri non possent. Itaque vastatis omnibus eorum agris, viciis aedificiisque incensis, Caesar exercitum reduxit et in Aulercis Lexoviisque, reliquis item civitatibus quae proxime bellum fecerant, in hibernis collocavit.

29. *Reliquis deinceps diebus*] 'During the rest of the days in succession.' 'Deinceps,' a word composed of 'dein' ('deinde') and a termination 'ceps.' By being placed between 'reliquis' and 'diebus,' it has the force of an adjective or participle.—'instituit:' 'he began to cut down the forest, and it was his plan to do it.' Caesar knew that in such a country there is no safety for the invader unless a broad road is cut through the forest. Kraner remarks that 'inermibus . . . militibus' are the ablatives, for it is not Latin to say 'impetum facere alicui.'—'materiam:' timber, large trees.—'conversam collocabat:' 'he turned and placed it;' the trunks and stems towards the road and the branches towards the forest. All Caesar's men could use an axe and a spade.

quum jam—tenerentur] 'Just as (quum jam) the cattle and the rear of the baggage was falling into our men's hands.' 'Ipsi' is the Morini; the men, as opposed to the 'pecus' and 'impedimenta.' The Morini were retiring further into their forests, but the Romans came up

with the cattle that the Morini were driving off and the tail of all their baggage.—'ejusmodi sunt . . . uti:' 'such storms came on that' See c. 13, note on 'ejusmodi.'—'et continuatione,' &c.: 'in consequence of the continuance of the rains the men could no longer be kept under tents.' The tents were made of skins. To keep an army 'sub pellibus' means to keep it in the field, 'under the skins,' as the Romans said.

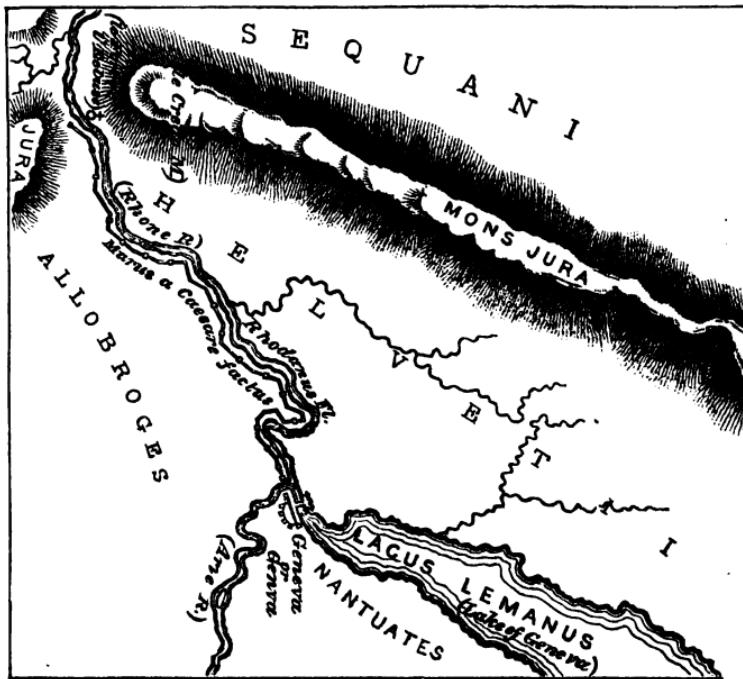
Itaque vastatis] The Roman carried on a savage kind of warfare. He wasted the fields, he burnt all the buildings, and left the people to get through the winter as they could. Modern nations called civilized carry on war in the same way in the country of those whom they call barbarous nations.

The winter quarters were in the country of the Aulerci and the Lexovii, and among the rest of the people who had last been at war with the Romans. Caesar put his men in winter quarters in the western part of the country, between the Seine and the Loire, which was not yet well secured.

PLANS.

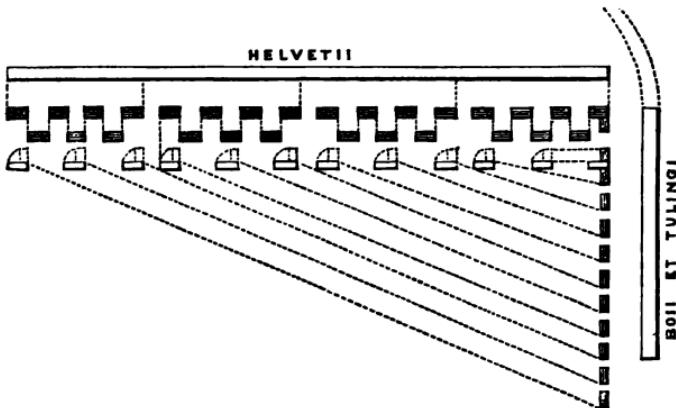
I.

This plan shows the position of Caesar's rampart along the south side of the Rhône, from Geneva to the prolongation of the Jura on the south side of the Rhône (B. G. i. 8). It shows also the gap in the Jura through which the Helvetii passed by the site of Fort l'Ecluse into the territory of the Sequani. The position of the Nantuates (B. G. iii. 1, 6) is also marked.



II.

This plan shows the 'triplex acies' which Caesar formed of his four veteran legions (B. G. i. 24). Each legion had four cohorts in the first line, three in the second line, and three in the third line. This was the usual form of the 'triplex acies.' The order of the cohorts in the first line from left to right is 4, 3, 2, 1; in the second line from left to right 7, 6, 5; and in the third line from left to right 10, 9, 8.



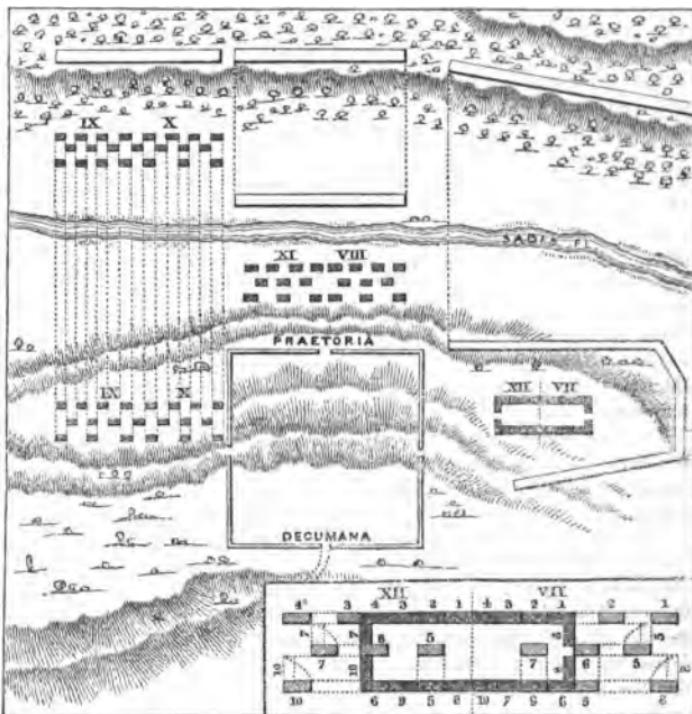
When the Boii and Tulingi fell on the Roman flank, whether the right or left we do not know, the cohorts in the third line, which cohorts in the plan are marked in white, turned round to face the Boii and Tulingi, and, leaving their positions, formed a line at right angles to the other two lines, and in front of the Boii and Tulingi. Thus there was a fight along two lines ('ancipiti proelio,' i. 26).

III.

This plan shows the position of the Roman camp and the legions on the Sambre (ii. 19) when they were surprised. Caesar was in the Praetorium, where he ordered the flag to be hung out as the signal of battle (ii. 20). Caesar, going out of the camp, came first to the tenth legion, which, with the ninth, was on the left side of the camp (ii. 23). These legions, which had been attacked by the Atrebates, drove them over the river, and followed them to the other side.

The eighth and eleventh legions were in the centre in front of the camp. They had repelled the attack of the Veromandui, and driven them down to the river, on the banks of which the fight continued (ii. 23). Thus the

Roman camp was left unprotected on the left and in the front. The Nervii, seeing this state of affairs, fell on the twelfth and the seventh legions, which were on the right side of the camp (ii. 23), and attempted to outflank them and to seize the camp.



Caesar went from the left side of the camp to the right (ii. 21, 25), and as he was going he saw what the eighth and eleventh legions were doing (ii. 21, 23). All was safe there. The danger was on the right. Arriving there, and coming first to the fourth cohort of the twelfth legion, Caesar found all the centurions of that cohort killed; and as he advanced along the line to the right wing of this legion, he found all the rest of the centurions either wounded or killed. The men were all crowded together, and he ordered them to open their ranks in order to have more room to use their swords (ii. 25). The seventh legion which was on the extreme right was in great danger, and Caesar ordered the seventh and twelfth to come together, and to form in such a way as to present a front to the enemy on

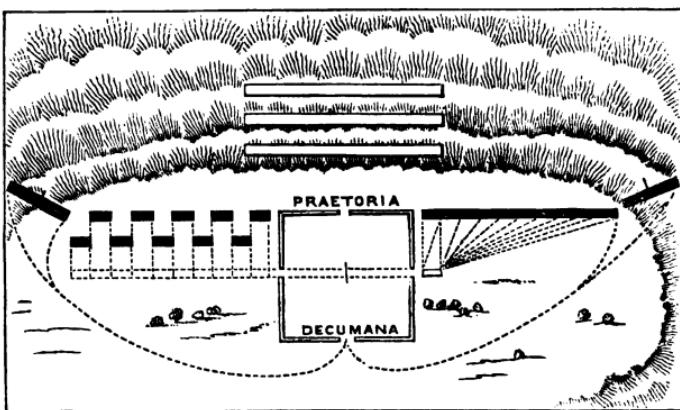
all sides. Each legion had four cohorts in the front line, and each had three cohorts in the second and third line respectively. The first and eighth cohort of the twelfth legion, with which Caesar was, keep their places. The fifth and eighth cohorts of the seventh legion wheeled round to form the right side of the square and fell back, while the cohorts of the first line move to the left to join the first cohort of the twelfth legion. The seventh and tenth cohorts of the twelfth legion make a like movement with the fifth and eighth of the seventh legion, to form the left side of the square, and also fall back. The second, third, and fourth cohorts of the twelfth legion move to the right, in order to join the first cohort which had not moved and the seventh which was forming part of the left side of the square. The fifth cohort of the twelfth legion falls back to join the eighth, which was in the third line; the ninth cohort moves up to the fifth, and the sixth falling back takes the place of the ninth. The tenth cohort of the seventh legion moves up to the eighth of the first legion. The seventh falls back and moves up to the tenth in the third line; the ninth moves up to the seventh now in the third line; the sixth falls back into the place of the ninth, and then moves up to the ninth in its new position. Thus the square is formed. This is Roesch's explanation (p. 205). I do not know if there is any better way of forming the square with the Roman cohorts. Those who are expert in the movements of men in large numbers may see.

The plan shows the twelfth and seventh legions formed in square with the Nervii on three sides of them. The part of the plan in the right hand corner at the bottom shows how the cohorts may have moved from their original position in three lines to form the square.

The twelfth and seventh legions were now able to resist the furious attack of the Nervii. On the left the enemy was routed; in the centre they were at least checked, for the eleventh and eighth legions had driven them back to the river. In the mean time the two legions which closed the line of march hearing of the fight came up at a quick pace, and appeared on the high ground where the camp was, and full in sight of the Nervii. Labienus, who was on the left with the ninth and tenth legions, and had got into the camp of the Atrebates on the other side of the river, seeing from the high ground what was going on upon the right, sent the tenth legion to relieve Caesar and the twelfth and seventh legions. This movement decided the battle, and the Nervii were almost destroyed.

Roesch observes, "After the plan which I give of this battle, no one will any longer have reason to complain of the obscurity of the text; and as to the instruction that may be derived from Caesar's narrative, I think that it is not inferior to any description of any other battle."

IV.



This plan explains Q. Titurius Sabinus' feat of arms (iii. 19). The enemy came up the hill, and attacked the front of the camp, trying to fill up the ditch with their fascines. Sabinus had three legions with him (iii. 11). That which was at the Praetoria Porta was sufficient to protect the camp on that side. The two other legions would have their places respectively on the right and left of the camp. We may suppose that just when the Galli reached the Porta Praetoria, exhausted with running and loaded with their fascines, the two legions came out on the right and left of the camp, and took the enemy in flank. In what way they got out, and how they formed, Caesar does not tell us; nor can we know. Roesch's plan shows, on the right side, how the cohorts may have got out, and formed a line of ten cohorts; and on the left side he shows what may have been the position of the cohorts, if they formed in a double line, each line of five cohorts (p. 233).

THE END.

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